Edward
Kotlyarchuk

CONGRESS OF THE PUPPETS

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KIEV · DNIPRO PUBLISHERS · 1982

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К73

Едуард Котлярчук
КОНГРЕС НЕВІЛЬНИХ

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Printed in the USSR

К $\frac{70303-229}{M205(04)-82}$ 229.82. 4702590200

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This publication is an expanded edition of two earlier works by Edward Kotlyarchuk *(Congress of the Unfree* and *After the Congress of the Unfree)* which were released in Ukrainian by the Ukraina Society (Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad). The author's objective was not only to analyse the history of the formation of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist groups in the West, which called themselves "The World Congress of Free Ukrainians" (WCFU), but also to expose at least certain current activities, which are often hidden from the Ukrainian emigrant population behind pseudo-democratic and false patriotic slogans.

The World Congress of Free Ukrainians is made up of several dozen nationalist groups and centers abroad which claim to be "leaders" or claim "hegemony" of all Ukrainians living abroad. They often attempt to present themselves to reactionary circles in the West as self-proclaimed "representatives" of the Ukrainian nation. Anyone unfamiliar with this might think that nationalist groups and groupings in the WCFU have great influence and their opinion is heeded by the western community.

In reality, not one organization in particular, nor all of them together, under the guise of the "World Congress of Free Ukrainians", represents anybody but themselves, that is, overall about several dozen or hundred individuals. This is irrefutably shown not only by the daily activities of the Ukrainians living abroad, but also by the numerous involuntary confessions of many "leaders" of the above-mentioned groups in the pages of their own newspapers and publications.

With the strengthening of reactionary trends in the policy of certain Western countries, especially the United States, and the activization of subversive anti-Soviet propaganda, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist publications increasingly often come out with allegations about better times ahead for the WCFU. In fact, this is what

explains the need to shed light on the activity of this reactionary conglomeration. Another reason is that anti-Soviet "shows" like WCFU-III reveal the true identity of the organizers and backstage inspirers of these political farces, and what their slogans are really worth. Besides, it is worth telling readers in the Soviet Union and abroad about the further heightening of the reactionary, antipopular course of WCFU as reflected in the resolutions and appeals endorsed at its gathering in New York (November 1978), and about other provocative steps taken by it and its affiliate organizations.

WCFU-III confirmed the fact that the nationalist reactionaries are obedient tools in the hands of international anti-communism — those imperialist circles which consider their job to be poisoning relations between countries which have a Ukrainian emigrant population, and the Soviet Union, turning the world once again back to the road of the "cold war" and doing their utmost to help a "hot," nuclear war.

The activity of the nationalist elite since WCFU-III proves the validity of opinions and characteristics about the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist emigrants, contained in the booklets *The Congress of the Unfree* and *After the Congress of the Unfree*. In this new, extended work, employing additional facts illustrating the subversive activity of nationalist reaction, the author refers to certain extremely characteristic outbursts and confessions in nationalist periodicals, revealing the further subversive plans cherished by the WCFU leaders and directed against the interests of the Ukrainian people and Ukrainians living abroad.

Thus, the current WCFU nationalist bosses aim not only at provoking intervention in Soviet internal affairs by the imperialist countries under the pretext of the fabricated "Soviet military threat" and the "defense of human rights and the national interests of the Ukrainian people." Ultimately, they hope to tear the Ukraine away from the Soviet Union, establish a most reactionary order on Ukrainian soil and create an "independent" Ukraine with a political system built along Nazi lines.

Equally treacherous are the plans of the WCFU "Establishment" concerning the Ukrainian emigrant population. People of Ukrainian descent living in the USA, Canada, Australia and some European and Latin Amer-

ican countries, especially those influenced by the nationalist upper echelons, are made the target of ideological stupefaction by the "liberator" politicos so as to serve as a source of manpower for subversive anti-Soviet centers.

There is no need to prove that these plans will never succeed. This, in part, is testified to by the involuntary confessions of quite a few nationalist leaders and periodicals which appear in this booklet.

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ENGENDERED BY REACTION

The main ideological and political weapon of modern imperialism is anti-communism. This has been raised to the level of official domestic and foreign policy conducted by some Western governments. Imperialist propaganda is waging incessant ideological warfare against the Soviet Union and other socialist community countries.

An important place in this war is assigned to anti-Soviet emigre groups. In his book *The Strategy of Cold War*, one of the theorists of anticommunism, J. Bernham, openly states that the "outcasts (traitors who fled from today's socialist countries — E. K.) should not be regarded as some passive material, but rather as active propagandists." Another American "Sovietologist," J. Armstrong, demands the widest possible use of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism in the anti-Soviet struggle. He states that the destiny of the Ukrainian nationalist movement is ever more closely linked today with the general opposition to the communist system.

At the height of the cold war and amidst a frenzied anti-Soviet campaign, the first so-called World Congress of Free Ukrainians (WCFU) was called in November 1967, in New York, with material and moral support from reactionary circles of the capitalist countries, first and foremost from the USA, and on instructions and with the blessing of the Central Intelligence Agency.

The idea of convening this "all-Ukrainian congress" which would represent the "entire Ukrainian emigre community" was born at the beginning of the 1930s. Its

initiators were the reactionary circles of Western countries who planned a new "crusade" against the Soviet Union utilizing Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists in this campaign. All this required consolidation of the disorganized and warring Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist splinter groups. Ukrainian nationalists living in Prague as "political immigrants" undertook to translate this plan into life. They set up an initiating commission headed by the Petlurite Viktor Prikhodko. However, the rapid increase of revolutionary sentiment and aspirations to reunite with the Soviet Ukraine among working people in the lands of Western Ukraine on the one hand, and disagreements among nationalist ringleaders on the other, hampered these attempts. The commission ceased to exist after issuing one non-periodic bulletin "For the Congress." This moribund "idea" was taken over by the so-called Ukrainian National-Democratic Association (UNDO) *. In December 1934, a conference of several nationalist "parties" outlined preparatory measures and set the date for the congress — 1935. But this time too, the nationalists failed to come to an agreement, and the formation of an "all-Ukrainian forum" was postponed from one year to another, until the Second World War broke out.

Following the war, a trend toward consolidation among the nationalists was actively supported by anti-communist circles in the West. V. Shandor, one of the leaders of the so-called Pan-American Ukrainian Conference (PAUC), which by then took upon itself the preparation of the congress, would later (1973) admit: "Government officials in America were at that time interested in this business of the World Congress, which is proved by the fact that a special officer of the State

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* Initials taken from the Ukrainian name of the organization

Department made three trips to the PAUC on matters concerning preparatory work for the World Congress".

Although leaders of the largest nationalist groupings in North America — the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America (UCCA) and the Ukrainian Canadian Committee (UCC) — favored the convening of the WCFU, they long quarreled over its site. The UCCA bosses demanded that the congress take place in New York, while the UCC insisted on Canada. Each of these organizations wanted to represent the "all-Ukrainian institution" before the anti-communist circles of Western powers.

The question concerning the character and direction of the congress also evoked sharp contradictions among its sponsors. More or less sober-minded supporters of the WCFU, who really wanted an organization which would care about the welfare of the emigrant population, demanded that the congress be public and concern itself with problems of Ukrainian communities in various countries. The Banderite *Parteimänner* tried to make it an anti-Soviet gathering with attacks "against Moscow and the present system in the Ukraine."

Under pressure from the organizers of the congress, the nationalist chieftains managed to somehow extinguish all these divergences (they will never be able to eliminate them completely). As a result, the 7th session of the aforementioned Pan-American Ukrainian Conference decided to hold the First WCFU Congress on November 12-19, 1967, in New York.

This is how this reactionary conglomerate was formed. Disguising itself with hypocritical phrases about the "interests of the emigration," "concern about retaining Ukrainian identity in a foreign sea," "fostering Ukrainian culture in strange lands," this organization, since the very first days of its existence, has stood as a center of anti-Soviet propaganda, slander and provocative actions against the Soviet Ukrainian people.

This is corroborated by the entire WCFU activities since its foundation and to this day. An analysis of these activities shows that the strivings of some sober-minded emigre circles to channel the congress onto the lines of public work and the solving of the vital problems facing Ukrainians abroad were reduced to nothing by the "statehoodite" pretensions of the reactionary leadership of the nationalist centers. During all these years, the congress did not decide a single question concerning the development of Ukrainian schools and cultural establishments, improvement of youth education and the slowing down of the process of assimilation, etc.

As the newspaper *Ukrainske Zhittya* (Ukrainian Life) wrote: "The political sector, through its backstage acting, manipulates and degrades the public sector. The fact that during the long years of its existence the WCFU has been doing nothing can be only explained by these backstage actions of the political sector". Another emigre publication complains: "WCFU did not consider the questions of building old-age homes and organizing aid for the poor".

Such voices do not find understanding among leaders of the reactionary centers. The Banderite weekly, *Shlyakh Peremohy* (Path of Victory) proclaimed that "the public sector should serve as an auxiliary to the political one, and not vice versa." As a result of efforts by emigre politicos, one newspaper wrote after the WCFU congress, "the cartload of public things began to move not forward, but on the contrary, to crawl backward."

Fruitless provocative acts, false appeals, letters and petitions containing demands to interfere in the internal affairs of the USSR and other socialist countries, addressed to Western governments, officials or simply people in power, organization of noisy demonstrations at which handfuls of duped and provoked youngsters

chant anti-Soviet slogans — these are characteristic of the WCFU's activities.

On October 15, 1978, a *Ukrainske Zhittya* journalist characterized the irresponsible playing of politics which for years has been carried on by the nationalist Establishment when he wrote: "... this brings great damage to the Ukrainian cause in the diaspora! Such demagogically irresponsible action behind the front of 'highly patriotic work' diverts the attention and energy of the patriotic community from concrete and extremely pressing tasks aimed at preserving the Ukrainian spirit in the diaspora for a longer period! The Ukrainian emigre mentality is imprisoned by unhealthy emotions which may — and already do — lead us farther on the road of the 'policy of discord' which will result in complete disaster and death!"

Still, such ideas, expressed by sober-minded emigres, fail to stop all the "independent party men". "Patriotic" slogans about preserving Ukrainian culture, attention to the development of the Ukrainian language and literature and the granting of aid to Ukrainian emigre students, proclaimed when forming WCFU, were the thin smoke screen generated to mask the actual endeavors of the Congress upper echelons which consisted of provocative campaigns against the USSR and other socialist countries, attempts to counter the process of detente and undermine good neighborly relationships between the socialist and capitalist countries.

In fact, WCFU became yet another "political emigre" outfit challenging reactionary centers established previously, wrote *Ukrainske Zhittya.* It "is a political emigre body par excellence; its role as a public-cultural coordinating center of Ukrainians in the diaspora is reduced to symbolic declamations to cover up the acutal goal — coordinating the liberation activity of political emigres (or, to be precise, nationalist bankrupts who

have long transformed their playing at 'liberating' the Ukraine into a convenient means of fishing money out of emigre pockets to satisfy their own needs.— E. K.). Thus organized, WCFU even now shows signs of certain decay.... WCFU congresses have become a battlefield for emigre political centers where they decide who will best conduct the 'liberation policy.' Today, no one in the WCFU leadership any longer mentions prior 'cultural-educational, artistic and public' promises and declarations. The nationalist press also keeps silent. "All the energy (read: propaganda!)," wrote *Ukrainske Zhittya*, "is directed along 'liberation policy' lines.... WCFU has entered a blind alley, duplicating the actions of political emigre centers."

In fact, WCFU has since its inception inherited the Bandera-Melnyk political course. It harbors the same pathological urge to be recognized as the "salt of the emigration" and its sole representative, the same mad desire to subordinate all emigre activity to its long bankrupt politicking, to the detriment of all other fields of emigre endeavor.

PLOTTING AND BICKERING

One of WCFU's main tasks, proclaimed by its organizers, was the unification and coordination of efforts by different emigre groups which were constantly at odds with each other. However, this Congress has not united anybody or anything during its existence. On the contrary, since the day it was founded, it has turned into yet another arena of bitter feud among nationalist leaders struggling for influence and posts within WCFU (although it would be more accurate to say that they have been fighting for the money supplied by foreign secret services to sustain this racket and for donations provided by brainwashed

and bullied nationalist emigres). What kind of cooperation can there be among the nationalist leaders when all they think of is getting a foothold on top of WCFU at the expense of their fellows?

Even before WCFU-I, the Ukrainian Canadian publicist Peter Krawchuk wrote that the nationalists would not be able to create any unity at their gatherings. They were divided by great differences and inner hatred, and there was such a glaring gap between them that they would never be able to bridge it or fill it with any congresses. Each group wanted to be above the others, to appear as the leader in the eyes of their guardians, to win the biggest favors from them, and receive greater political and material benefits.

These words turned out to be prophetic.

WCFU is in a constant state of war. It actually reflects the continuous feud peculiar to the entire reactionary emigre community. Nationalist periodicals constantly and extensively write about what they call "raging battles" fought by the various "party" groups of the WCFU elite. Thus, the Chicago-based *Ukrainske Zhittya* wrote on November 1-15, 1978 about the "constant chaos and discord in the Ukrainian emigration policy" and that the leaders of nationalist communities "devote all their energy to reaching some kind of agreement between the political emigre camps in terms of occupying posts" within WCFU.

M. Styranko, a well-known reactionary emigre journalist who simply cannot be suspected of any grudge against the nationalists, as he himself is a typical "liberator," wrote on February 24, 1979, in *The New Pathway* of the Melnyk faction that the nationalist higher-ups "are sinking deeper and deeper in internal squabbling... and waging desperate battles among themselves." The overwhelming majority of the emigre population regards "inter-department" dogfights with disgust, the

author points out, but these "politicians," sealed tight in their ghettos, do not pay any attention and "break their 'principled' spears, apparently concealed behind the front of patriotic phraseology."

For years, nationalist editions have carried information about the growing rates of assimilation which consumes a growing part of the younger Ukrainian generation abroad, about the "sad situation with Ukrainian students in emigration," the shortage of textbooks and qualified teaching staff, and about young people's lack of interest in their national history and culture.

However, these desperate voices that are more and more often heard from the pages of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist publications are drowned in the loud and discordant choir of yellow-blue "independents," so the nationalist newspapers can only confirm the "drastically growing denationalization" of the entire Ukrainian reactionary community.

With the passing of time, inter-group strife among the nationalists has become increasingly pronounced. It is especially acute during congresses. The Melnykite newspaper *Ukrainske Slovo* (Ukrainian Word) lamented: "Even if representatives of separate groupings take seats at a table, their conversations will be characterized by mutual distrust and suspicion. It seems at times that these conversations are not between representatives of one and the same people, but between representatives of two hostile nations."

As is known, three congresses have so far taken place — in 1967, 1973 and 1978. What did they show? According to the bourgeois-nationalist press, these "forums" turned into fights between the ringleaders for influence and power, as well as key positions in the WCFU. During such inter-party intrigues and conflicts, there was no room for questions concerning the inter-

ests of the emigration. Even those empty declarations about the "well-being of the Ukrainian emigre community" with which leaders of the nationalist groups speculated on the eve of the gatherings were forgotten.

The progressive Ukrainian newspaper *Zhittya i Slovo* (Life and Word), published in Canada, justly wrote that during WCFU congresses there were actually two congresses: "At a time when a spectacle was taking place in the hall, when all sorts of Banderite werewolves were telling various tales, Lysohirs and Kushnirs, Bilinskys and Plawiuks, Kondras and Malaschuks from the very beginning, day and night, were quarreling over these questions in the hotel rooms: where the WCFU 'secretariat' should be permanently located and what should be its composition?" It must be noted here that, for the nationalist "leaders", these questions are most important: on their solution rests the question of who will have "priority" in the nationalist community and who can count on subsidies from the reactionary circles of the West.

After all, the "independence" press wrote a lot about intrigues and inter-party quarrels at the WCFU congresses. Here are some of the characterizations: *Ukrainski Visti* (Ukrainian News), N. Uhlm: "... it was all nothing but than a backstage struggle between two sections of OUN remnants." *Ukrainskiy Samostijnyk:* (Ukrainian Independent): "... behind everything was party policy, and the main managers were representatives of political parties." *Batkivshchina* (Homeland): "...The WCFU organizers accepted none of our proposals. We were only given the right to have our delegates at the WCFU Congress, silently approve resolutions worked out without us, and pay fees." *Noviy Shlyakh* (New Path): "The stubborn, egotistical, sectarian and antidemocratic position of one small group (Banderite delegates — E. K.) brought WCFU nearly to the verge of

complete collapse..."; "The half-measures and compromising resolution, which was accepted with great difficulty, doesn't predict great success for the secretariat and its presidium for the next five years... The Second WCFU Congress again demonstrated quite convincingly that the small minority, in using anti-democratic principles, is able and ready, in the name of its principle: "he who doesn't submit to us should be liquidated,' to raise or even ruin the national values achieved with great difficulty." (As to the "achieved national values," the Melnykite newspaper, as they say, greatly exaggerated; the rest was all correct.) *Vilne Slovo* (Free Word): "Six years later, there was more disorder, more disputed 'unity' at the Second WCFU Congress than before."

The bitter struggle for leadership was waged not only during congresses. Prior to them, party bosses carried on most active preparations for the battles at the Congress itself. It is known, indirectly, that prior to the WCFU Congress, a secret meeting took place between the Banderite and Melnykite leaders, Yaroslav Stetsko and Oleg Shtul-Zhdanovich (now dead). During this conclave, the OUNite bosses tried to distribute posts and spheres of influence in the "world organization" among themselves.

On behalf of the OUN Foreign Branches ("foreign sorcerers", as they were nicknamed in emigration), Stetsko proposed to include in the WCFU leadership only Banderite and Melnykite representatives, as well as supporters of the UNR's (Ukrainian National Republic) "President-in-Exile" Mykola Livytsky. The Banderites' calculations were simple: to remain in the leadership tete-a-tete with Melnykites, and later the situation would dictate what to do.... Banderites are not squeamish, and their methods of struggle against their political opponents are well known. In the inter-party ri-

valry during World War II, they simply physically exterminated a great number of Melnykite OUN (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists) members.

The nationalist press also deals extensively with the "terrible fratricide" perpetrated by the Banderites in the Western Ukrainian lands during World War II. Thus, in the spring of 1978, some publications carried M. Kondzelsky's letter on this score. In answer to the letter, a certain M. Pihulyak tells in the pages of the nationalist press about mass terror committed by the Banderites. "The glorious SB (Banderite security service — E. K.) took the law into their hands in dealing with people of different opinion. So, one's native land, parents' or one's own house ceased to be a protection." And more: "The raging terror of the SB in Volyn Region in the latter half of 1943 did not completely exterminate the Melnykite cadre and *boyivkas* (units) in various localities. The remnants gathered together and organized their 'Ukrainian Legion of Self-Defense'; in this way, they managed to protect themselves lest the Banderites shoot them all." Witnesses to those events testify that the Banderites killed not only party adversaries, but also "old people, children and clergymen." M. Kondzelsky says that such a testimony "... makes one shudder, and you do not really know whether, on meeting someone, you should sincerely shake hands. They may be stained with fraternal innocent blood. In short: it is inconceivable to belong with such people to one and the same organization — be it UCC, WCFU or anything else."

Well remembering this experience, the head of the Melnykite PUN (Council of Ukrainian Nationalists) was afraid of such cooperation prior to WCFU II. Therefore, he proposed distributing leading posts in the WCFU to "opposition" parties also. This didn't suit the Banderites. Consequently, an alliance between the Banderite

and the Melnykite OUN on the basis of the WCFU (as well as on all other grounds) did not succeed.

The failure of negotiations, certainly, didn't stop the "partners". Before the Second WCFU Congress (held in November, 1973, in Toronto), at a London meeting of the "liberation front" members (the brash name the Banderites gave their organization) it was decided, under the leadership of Stetsko spouses, that they should take the WCFU completely under their control. With this aim, the organization "liberation front" was to send to the congress not only "authorized" delegates (12), but also "non-authorized" (14) who, according to the nationalist bulletin *Nash Holos* (Our Voice) had to win delegate rights *per fas et nefas* (by hook or by crook)".

The results of the Banderite-Melnykite duel (the rivalry between the opponents for leading positions at all three WCFU congresses acquired exactly this form) were dismal for all congress participants without exception. The furious struggle at the Second WCFU Congress over the list of candidates for the secretariat drove the congress on the verge of failure and self-destruction. The situation was saved by the clergy which proposed a "compromise" list. The claimants for leadership in the WCFU — the Melnykite Mykola Plawiuk and Banderite Stepan Froliak — suffered a setback: 80-year-old Uniate Wasyl Kushnir became "President." Outwardly, the crisis was solved, but the conflict, of course, remained unsettled.

After WCFU-II, clashes between the main contenders for "leadership" — the Melnyk and Bandera factions — and for the "biggest stock" in WCFU continued to sharpen, and the struggle became increasingly bitter. The Banderite chiefs were especially active during preparations for WCFU-III.

To discredit WCFU's activity following the second Congress, when the reins of power were actually in the hands of their rival Mykola Plawiuk of the Melnyk camp (he was then First Vice-President), the Bandera adherents from the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America did their best to put a spoke in the wheel of the WCFU Secretariat, boycotting the financial campaign, and engineering the dismissal of A. Semotik from the post of head of the WCFU Information Service. Banderite editions came out with material sharply critical of all the Secretariat's work (it was then presided over by Plawiuk). Banderite attacks were stepped up as the Third Congess drew closer.

To "further rally forces" and give impetus to the propaganda of the Banderite misanthropic ideas on the American continent, the nationalists went so far as to bring over OUN propagandists S. Mudryk and A. Bedriy from Europe. The former made a tour of Canada filled with inciting speeches, rallying supporters for his "party," while the latter became editor of the Canadian weekly *Homin Ukrainy* for which he organized anti-Melnyk materials. In his articles Bedriy also demanded that WCFU take a "tolerant attitude" to the Banderite "policy" and called for subordinating all the activity of the "independent" centers to the "ABN concept" (ABN is short for the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, a pro-Nazi organization in which the Banderites play far from last fiddle).

On its part, the Melnyk faction, while beating off Banderite attacks, accused the "revolutionary OUN" of splitting WCFU and trying to assume the role of the sole representative of emigre interests. *The New Pathway* of the Melnyk group in Canada noted that the preparations for WCFU-III were slow, lacked enthusiasm and even met with obstacles, blaming this on what the newspaper called as "party fanatics" (meaning, of

course, not the Melnyk but the Bandera faction) whose behavior, the editors feared, could "break WCFU apart or turn in into a 'paper institution.'"

The increasing strife inside the OUN centers and between their bosses, combined with provocative anti-Soviet campaigning referred to as the "liberation policy" by the nationalist elite, resulted in compromise and the noticeable isolation of the entire nationalist camarilla. Ukrainians abroad are losing the last shreds of trust in a "class of good-for-nothing public liars," as the Ukrainian nationalist bosses were called by the Canadian *Vilne Slovo* (August 5-12, 1978), and its "liberation" slogans. That this is really so is evident from the fact that fewer and fewer people are taking part in anti-Soviet actions and in celebrating nationalist jubilees."

Ivan Kedrin, who has dedicated more than 50 years to "liberation" politics (he is known as the dean of emigre journalists) had to admit in *Visti Kombatanta* (№ 3, 1978): "Before our very eyes, Ukrainian life in the diaspora is writhing with pain; not only the parties, some of which have already become fiction or semi-fiction, are writhing, so are our youth organizations."

The ficticiousness of emigre "political" centers is also confirmed by S. Protsyk, who asks in his article "Political Surrealism" (*Ukrainske Zhittya*, November 1-15, 1978), "How many political organizations are there in the Ukrainian community in which one is unable to find people from among whom to elect an executive body?... The end of these organizations will come before any reasonable reform, modification or modernization of their statutes is carried out." There is only one thing which could be added here. Protsyk's opinion applies to absolutely all the nationalist centers, rather than only those in the United States.

Even nationalist periodicals often carry materials whose authors predict that WCFU will soon collapse.

Without doubt, the source of these pessimistic views lies in the withdrawal of an increasing number of Ukrainians abroad from the spheres of activity of subversive nationalist centers.

The Ukrainian Canadian magazine *Novi Dni* published an article in October 1978 under a very eloquent title, "Will WCFU Live to See Its 4th Congress?" The author was displeased by the fact that WCFU had become yet another "politicking institution." In emigration, he wrote, there already exist dozens of different "political centers, movements, blocs, fronts, associations and unions" that were busy "playing at politics." The reader might well ask, "Why does WCFU, called upon as it is to organize and stimulate the precariously declining Ukrainian cultural and public life, also have to compete with them?"

However, this senseless "competition" is not what worries the nationalists most. "The worst thing is that broad Ukrainian public circles do not seem to depend on it any longer. The interest of the public and our press in the WCFU matters has dropped to a minimum, and this is precisely what compells us to ask delegates this question: Will WCFU live long enough to see its 4th Congress?" The reason for this question is also provided. It appears that during the "previous ten years, WCFU has not justified the hopes once placed in it" by the reactionary Ukrainian milieu.

The general indifference of Ukrainians abroad toward WCFU's fate and the incessant squabbling of the nationalist politicos which led to the Melnyk-Bandera duel at WCFU-II and had not stopped until the third gathering marked the atmosphere in which WCFU was called to order in November 1978.

The pre-congress fever that shook the Bandera and Melnyk faction leaders certainly produced no stimulating or inspiring effects on the WCFU-III delegates.

To top it all, everybody remembered only too well the pains the clergy had taken to pacify the bloodthirsty claimants to the "presidential" post during WCFU-II, thus saving the organization from complete destruction. No wonder that "a mood of total confusion was prevalent" in the community prior to the Third Congress. *Narodna Volya* wrote on December 7, 1978: "The delegates gathered with a feeling of alarm and uncertainty as to whether the outcome would be a success, because memories of the misunderstanding at the end of the Second Congress hung like a heavy dark cloud over the Third WCFU Congress, presaging... that the Third Congress would be the last."

Further on, the newspaper pointed out that the delegates' fears were strengthened by the "pre-congress maneuvers" of various party groups. It was obvious that the conferences and congresses of various organizations, scheduled to be held before WCFU-III, would be used exclusively for developing the strategy of the coming factional power struggle during WCFU-III.

The atmosphere of confusion was also deepened by the fact that the outgoing WCFU President, the Uniate clergyman Kushnir (now dead), caused what *The New Pathway* termed "general disappointment" by his opening address. The newspaper wrote that he was physically unable to deliver his own greetings to the Congress opening. The half-hour speech by the WCFU President ended pathetically, as he was unable to read his own notes, and the audience heard practically nothing except those sitting close to the speaker's platform who caught the words of a Vice-President who was prompting him. So this is what WCFU-III was really like — a theatrical performance with active prompters and anemic "soloists."

After the Uniate priest, the floor was taken by the Orthodox Metropolitan Mstislav. Unlike the President,

although equally well advanced in years, he had a strong enough voice. Instead of greeting the "World Congress," however, the metropolitan zeroed in on his opponents and anti-Congress propaganda. Waving a copy of the booklet *The Congress of the Unfree*, the metropolitan scolded the delegates, accusing them of assisting... Soviet propaganda. Thus, instead of "enthusiasm and vitality," the delegates were overwhelmed by depression, the more so that "information was constantly being received" about how the people "on top" could not agree on the new leading bodies of WCFU.

"Severe battles" were fought backstage. Outwardly, the organizers tried to keep a brave face on a sorry business, but seldom did, if at all. For instance, they counted on a huge propaganda impact from speeches at the Congress by different turncoats who had at one time or another been expelled from the USSR. So what happened? These characters, forgetting whose bread they were eating, spoke against Nazism (even Ukrainian) and even ridiculed the name of the Bandera-oriented Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of the Ukraine — another "wonder" of the nationalist emigration. The Australian *Vilna Dumka* wrote in its January 1-7, 1979, issue that speeches about Nazism at the Congress "called the wolf out of the forest." These debates ended in a real melée; the extremist "independents" gave the "new emigres" the works. "By their yelling, the hot-headed party men discredited themselves," stated the bulletin *Nash Holos* (January, 1979) about the Banderites' conduct during the Congress.

This quarrel wasn't the only one at that "Congress of the Unfree." Another incident that took place during the "scientific" session of the Congress appeared just as scandalous. It was when those opposing emigre cultural contacts with the Ukraine grossly attacked Omelyan Pritsak for his proposal to use Soviet Ukrainian spelling

in emigre publications. "The panel of academicians turned into a kind of trial where questions and caustic remarks were shot from the audience, aimed mainly at Prof. Pritsak.... The scholarly linguistic discussion was replaced by meeting-like speeches and shouts. One could hardly enjoy witnessing scenes like that." (*Narodna Volya*, December 7, 1978).

Nationalist politicos are absolutely unconcerned about the remarkably poor literary quality of Ukrainian "independent" editions (suffice it to say that every emigre periodical has a spelling pattern of its own). The least thing they care for is what is to become of the "national identity" on whose behalf they have put themselves out with such ardor, verbally. They remained unperturbed even when their gathering was held under a banner in Ukrainian which read something like "Welkam Delegeits III WCFU Kongres." This illiterate phrase seems to embrace what intellect there is in the heads of the WCFU organizers. (It reminds one of an old anecdote, once quite popular in Kiev. "Where were you, Aunt Tojba?" "We been for Podil."* "You should say, 'We went to Podil.'" "Sure, is what I say, 'We went for Podil.'") "So it's illiterate," a nationalist party man would retort, "so what? It's better this way than if it were written the way the Soviets do."

One of the fights at the Congress was triggered off by an amendment to Clause 23 of the WCFU Statute (the right to veto, granted representatives of different groups when considering resolutions of the Secretariat). The Bandera faction raised a hullabaloo that caused the amendment to be tabled for an unspecified period. "The Statute and agreement," wrote the biweekly *Ukrainske Zhittya* (January 15, 1979), "are in the interests of both

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* Podil is Kiev's old downtown section beside the Dnieper River

antagonized parties, in that they will ensure them control at the highest level. As for the rest of the Ukrainian community, it remains way behind, pondering whether the Statute exists for the people or the people for the Statute."

The final edition of the Congress resolutions was also suspended. Resolutions were written by more than forty people. "As a result of so many pens involved," sighed *Narodna Volya* (December 7, 1978), "only general agreements on the resolutions were prepared.... These were words, phrases and frequent repetitions, a great many of them."

So what were these "great many phrases" like? WCFU resolutions boiled down to hypocritical allegations about the "colonial enslavement" of the Ukrainian lands, "planned Russification" of the Ukrainian people, and slanderous accusations that the church and believers were being persecuted and that Soviet citizens were "deprived of the most elementary human, religous, civil, political and national rights."

Over the six decades since the establishment of Soviet power, the Ukrainian nation has registered tremendous accomplishments that are acknowledged globally. The civilized part of mankind thinks highly of the advances of Soviet Ukrainian science, culture and literature. Equally true is that the civilized human race and the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are worlds apart. After drawing a "horrifying" picture of life in the Ukrainian SSR, the authors of the WCFU resolutions, without a second's hesitation, wrote further in their "document": "The Ukrainian in the diaspora is a full-fledged citizen of his country." Obviously, they knew better than to mention the U. S. melting-pot policy with regard to national minorities and the scornful attitude of the indigenous population to immigrants who are regarded as inferior in many countries of the West.

The Ukrainian people could tell such "full-fledged citizens," in the words of a song, "Oh, don't cry for me, cry for yourself."

Continuation and expansion in the West of the provocative anti-Soviet campaign in "defense of human rights" in the USSR and inciting government circles to interfere in Soviet internal affairs, counter to the Helsinki accords — these were the tasks specified in the WCFU-III resolutions.

Nationalist participants, in fact, admit themselves that there is a "simmering down" of the "Ukrainian liberation cause" as a result of the years of peaceful coexistence, the stronger overall peace, deepening process of detente and expansion of mutually advantageous cooperation among states with different social systems. Under the circumstances, the leaders of foreign bourgeois nationalist organizations continue to poison the international atmosphere, trying to provoke anti-communist, anti-Soviet actions. Now that the world situation is become increasingly tense, badly affecting relations between countries as a result of the U. S. Administration's aggressive foreign policy, the Ukrainian nationalists, while siding with ultra-right elements in their common hatred of socialist countries, continue to do everything possible to block detente and revive the cold war track around the world.

To an extent, the authors of the WCFU-III resolutions, drawn up to the best cold war standards, tried to conceal their misanthropic essence. The nationalist campaign for the "defense of human rights in the Soviet Union" which was conducted in the wake of the general imperialist anti-Soviet propaganda effort, did not bring its inspirers and organizers the results they expected. And so the nationalist WCFU-III bosses came out with a new slogan: "For Peaceful Decolonization," meaning the Soviet Union. While masking the nation-

alists' constant calling for another war, this slogan is also designed to broaden the range of activity of the Ukrainian reactionary centers during the period of peace.

Characteristically, the nationalist milieu also betrays the presence of people who are only too well aware of the futility of all bourgeois nationalist propaganda tales about "decolonization," allegedly begun by WCFU-III. Thus, one of the *Ukrainske Zhittya* correspondents by the name of S. Kuropas clearly saw the futility of the nationalist plans when he wrote, "Isn't this too hard a job, will the Ukrainians and WCFU find the strength to pull it off?" He openly laughed at all the "independent" daydreaming as he continued, "All this is just words, not a grain of action; this is fine rhetoric with which we keep on fooling ourselves. That this is really so, we will see in five years."

It should be noted that even the organizing aspect of WCFU-III left much to be desired, because twice as many delegates turned up as were available places. On December 23-30, 1978, *The New Pathway* wrote that there were no adequate premises for either general sessions or even separate commissions, that all the rooms were too small so that only one half of a 60-member group could be seated, the rest having either to stand or leave. Some of the participants in this "big event" finally began to take to their heels — and not only those who couldn't find seats, but also people who had got bored stiff of listening to all the nonsense fed to them during the sessions and commissions. According to *Homin Ukrainy* (January 7, 1979), the Congress had empty seats on all days.

And yet, few as they were in number, the delegates who attended were enough to turn WCFU into another typical nationalist hubbub occasion when "the entire audience hummed as the delegates kept on talking to each other, ignoring the chairman's repeated calls for

order, and the noise of conversations in the lobby muffled the speakers in the hall...." (*Vilna Dumka*, January 1-7, 1979).

Hence the summary of the "organizing" efforts; "The Organizing Committee of the Congress failed to cope with its tasks, in all instances, and viewed from any angle. The entire organizational side was unsatisfactory.... The impression was that the organizers, in preparing the Congress, had not believed that it would be a success, and so they had made their arrangements in what one could only describe as a haphazard manner." (*Vilne Slovo*, December 16, 1978).

In fact, what really bothered the participants in this nationalist gathering was whose party would end up on top in WCFU. On December 16, 1978 Ivan Kedrin wrote in *The New Pathway* that this personal problem became increasingly alarming during the Congress, appearing to have become its focal issue, whereas its central problem should have been the Congress' ideological content. The author must have been joking, for what kind of "ideological content" could there be if "the mere thought of how the Congress would end sent the delegates' heads spinning? There were muffled rumors that here was the confrontation between the two camps and the chances of reaching an agreement were slim." (*Narodna Volya*, December 7, 1978).

The chances were actually almost nil. As usual, the Banderites were after monopoly and dictatorship, fighting to the last man against the Melnykites who hated the idea of losing the positions they won during WCFU-II.

"These 'superpatriots,'" noted *Ukrainskiy Holos* (December 6, 1978), "simply could not bring themselves to accept the truth that M. Plawiuk of the Melnyk camp would become WCFU President for the next term. The situation was as funny as when two billy goats con-

front one another halfway across a narrow bridge, only this time neither was buffeted into the river. Both got stuck, hanging from a crossbeam. It was decided that the term of presidency would be evenly divided between the Melnykite Plawiuk from Canada who would serve the first two and a half years and the Banderite I. Bazarko from the U. S. who would occupy the seat for the remainder of the period.

The election of these "half-presidents" was laughed at by all the emigration. The delegates also laughed. The emigre weekly *Narodna Volya*, on December 7, 1978, called this "division of power" an unprecedented occurrence. The newspapers *Ukrainske Zhittya* (January 1, 1979) and *Ukrainskiy Holos* (January 17, 1979) wrote that WCFU "was delivered of a two-headed calf."

The results of WCFU-III disappointed all its participants, as had been the case with WCFU-II. "Not one of the older emigration found his way into the new Secretariat..., nor did any of the younger American generation," complained S. Kuropas in *Ukrainskiy Holos* (January 17, 1979). All the posts were seized by emigre politicos. The latter, however, were also displeased — the Banderites because they hadn't completely taken over WCFU, and the Melnykites because they had lost part of what they had won previously.

Naturally, all this plotting and bickering left no room for talk about WCFU's "public" work. The organizers and the participants had too many other things on their mind. Besides, nobody ever mentioned any of the slogans about "preserving the Ukrainian spirit in a foreign land." They had to pay an indemnity (13,000 dollars yearly) to the so-called World Coordinating Educational Council which reciprocated by taking a plunge into the nationalist "policy", announcing the provocative plan for "Ukrainian participation" in the International Year of the Child which "includes the

condition of the Ukrainian child in his native land and the accomplishments of the free Ukrainian child in the diaspora."

Naturally, the leaders of these organizations do not intend to remind the emigres of the atrociousness with which the Banderites and their henchmen treated Ukrainian villagers during WWII, how many children they left orphaned and how many of them were not destined to grow up at all because of the ill will of the nationalists.

One wondered exactly what "accomplishments of the free Ukrainian child" the WCFU Council would list. It is common knowledge that the situation with Ukrainian emigre school children is lamentable, growing worse every year, and that young people of Ukrainian parentage are reluctant to be involved in or with WCFU or the WCFU Council. This attitude is made public knowledge by all the Ukrainian emigre periodicals.

The nationalist elite will under no circumstances allow its publications to carry true information about the life of peoples of the Soviet Union that children are the only privileged class in socialist society, and that Soviet power spares neither energy nor means to ensure the growing generation an all-round moral and physical education.

And so WCFU, without having ever been a public organization, openly acted as a politicking emigre center during the Third Congress. *The New Pathway* conceded that WCFU-III was a "one hundred per cent political undertaking" (December 20-23, 1978). It wasn't only political, added the U. S.-based *Narodna Volya* (December 7, 1978), but also purely internal, because the nationalists had not managed to get any more or less prestigious individuals of the West to attend. Nor had they even interested the media of their respective countries. "There were no representatives of the government

present, or noted politicians, senators, congressmen; there were no press, radio or television people in evidence, there weren't even greetings from notable persons of this strange world."

"On the other hand," wrote *Narodna Volya*, "it was just as well, in a sense, that there wasn't that much scandalous publicity — and it could well have been had an outsider observed our frequent lack of organization and reticence."

Even though most "independent" authors admit that WCFU-III indeed turned out an awkward farce, they disagree with the above comment. They fully realize that to acknowledge the lack of interest in the latest yellow-blue "big event" on the part of the Western press and influential circles would amount to conceding that the WCFU bosses have no prestige even in the Western reactionary milieu. "The American, New York press carried only brief notices about the demonstration," wrote *Vilna Dumka* on January 1-7, 1979, meaning by "demonstration" an outburst of hooliganism on a New York street staged by the WCFU organizers after the Congress, "and only because it had resulted in a clash with the police and arrests! This fight was unnecessary, but ...without it there would have been no mention in the American press whatsoever!"

W. Weriga of the Melnyk group in Canada confirmed the lack of interest of reactionary circles in nationalist wheelings and dealings when he wrote: "As regards representatives of the political world, attendance was worse than at the First Congress, as not even a minor clerk from some insignificant department put in an appearance..., the tragic situation had to be saved by inviting a Canadian minister who was used twice."

Nationalist periodicals tried to pull the wool over the eyes of their readers, speaking about the presence at the Congress of Edward Mezwinski, "a representative

of the U.S. Government and White House," and Victoria Mongiardo, "special White House assistant on ethnic affairs." "What kind of representation was this?" asks the aforementioned S. Kuropas. "Mezwinski is an ex-U. S. congressman of Jewish background who had lost his Iowa seat two years ago." As for the title of the Mongiardo woman, it was totally false, writes Kuropas, because "there is no such position in the White House, as President Carter hadn't created one in his two years of office." (*Ukrainskiy Holos*, January 17, 1979).

The sharp polemic over the results of WCFU-III proves that this gathering has created an even greater degree of friction and discord in the "independent" camp, exposing the ersatz essence of WCFU as a center of reactionary Ukrainian emigrants, and that it has further discredited and isolated the organization.

LIVING OFF OTHERS

And so nothing came out of the idea of setting up a coordinating center for the entire reactionary emigration, uniting the warring nationalist factions during WCFU-III.

Could it have been otherwise? As an emigre center, WCFU was founded under the control of people whose personal qualities can hardly be described as virtuous, even from the standpoint of nationalist morals.

Who are these WCFU people? Let us start by looking at the social composition of its governing bodies. Of the dozens of individuals occupying leading posts there is not a single worker or farmer as a genuine representative of the working emigre people. The reins of power in WCFU are in the hands of characters belonging to that social stratum which stands guard over capitalist property, and the accompanying oppression and exploitation of the working people.

Most of the WCFU leadership are Bandera-Melnyk

"combatants," former lackeys of the Nazis, professional SS killers, all ready to grab each other by the throat in the course of "backstage negotiations" during WCFU-III. As was to be expected, representatives of the exploiter classes and characters financially sustained by secret services, paid from what is known as "liberation funds," occupied 100 per cent of the key positions in the newly elected WCFU bodies. For the most part, the new upper echelons consisted of representatives of the postwar emigration, primarily former Nazi quislings.

Foreign periodicals, both Ukrainian and others, contain more than enough evidence that the ideas and plans of the WCFU bosses are alien to the interests of the working emigrants, and that these leaders ignore or even exploit these interests for their own end. Roman Burkowsky, one of the "independent" bosses, wrote about corruption in his community: "There are people in the 'in' in our organization who make up an organization within an organization and against whom other members, even though constituting the overwhelming majority, end up unable to do anything; this majority cannot oppose the organizational clique because they do not form an organization within an organization." And further on, "The absence of control is just the end result of clique supremacy."

As has already been mentioned, M. Plawiuk, the leader of the Melnyk faction, was elected President — or, rather, Half-President — of WCFU. In the Nazi-occupied Ukraine he had served as head of the OUN's youth department. After the war, in the DP camp in Rimini (Italy), he recruited spies and saboteurs from among survivors of the *Waffen SS Division Galizien* to be sent to operate in the Ukrainian SSR.

As one of the top bosses of the OUN Melnyk group, Plawiuk publicizes his only solution to the "Ukrainian problem": fighting the Soviet Union in all possible

ways, pouring oil on the flames of militarist hysteria with the ultimate goal of starting a third world war. He calls for expanding anti-Soviet ideological actions, stressing the necessity of ever closer contacts between the nationalist groups and Western reactionary circles, as well as between various neo-Nazi and racist setups.

Ivan Bazarko, the other "Half-President" of WCFU, is a member of the leading body of the pro-Nazi Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms of the Ukraine (Ukr. abbr., OOChSU). The latter is part of what is known as OUN FB (Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists, Foreign Branches) which belong to the Melnyk group and is under the command of Yaroslav Stetsko, former agent of the Italian fascist and German Nazi secret services.

Bazarko is a convinced anti-Semite who demonstrated his advocacy of racist ideas in his report on June 3, 1978, as Administrator of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. There, he called actions against American Jews an important field of endeavor of the nationalist elite. From his own words, it is obvious that it was on Bazarko's initiative that "WCFU's control body turned to the professional Ukrainian Lawyers' Association with the request that it check into the possibility of legal action" against Jews in the United States who try to expose the crimes of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists during World War II.

These endeavors of Bazarko are evidence of his commitment to the misanthropic Banderite ideas. His words are a kind of paraphrase of Stetsko's credo which he explains in his autobiography ("I consider Moscow and the Jews to be our principal and most formidable enemies, so I believe that the Jews must be annihilated and that it is worth transferring to the Ukraine the Nazi techniques of extermination of Jews"). It is perhaps with as much feeling that the new WCFU Presi-

dent reminds himself of the words of the late OUN "Führer" Stephen Bandera: "Jews must be isolated and thrown out of offices and institutions, this applies to Muscovites and Poles even more so; only Ukrainians can be appointed as responsible officials. The national minorities are divided into (a) those friendly to us and (b) those hostile to us — Poles, Muscovites and Jews."

On February 18, 1979, the Paris-based *Ukrainske Slovo* wrote that, during the war, Ivan Bazarko was actively involved — naturally, with the knowledge of the Nazi occupation authorities — in what was described as "benevolent" activity in Lviv Region.

A reference to history will doubtlessly give a reasonably accurate idea about exactly how Bazarko and other similar Nazi servants "benevolently" collaborated. For example, it is an established fact that in the town of Belz where Bazarko lived for a while and carried out assignments he received from the nationalist elite, two-thirds of the residents before the war were Jews. Almost all of them were shot by the Nazis, part of them in Belz and the rest in the ghetto of Sokal and in the death camp of Majdanek. When it was time for the Nazis and their nationalist servants — among them Bazarko — to flee hastily to the West, they demolished unique architectural sites in Belz, including a 15th century Dominican cathedral, a synagogue and a rabbinical chamber. People living in Lviv Region will never forget these crimes of the Nazis and their nationalist toadies.

Ivan Bazarko is in close contact with the survivors of the ill-famed *Waffen SS Division Galizien.* He is often seen at meetings with Galizien veterans, and the attitude of all SS-men to the "Jewish problem" is strikingly manifest in the death of the tens of thousands of Jews they slaughtered in the Ukraine, Poland and Nazi death camps.

The so-called Political Sector is actually the stage director of all WCFU subversive forces, although formally it does not appear to rank with the leading bodies of this conglomeration.

Yaroslav Stetsko. He is one of the emigre "party men." Simultaneously he is leader of the Bandera faction and President of the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. An addition might as well be made to his *curriculum vitae*, to the effect that he used to be a Nazi collaborator. Stetsko underwent an appropriate course of schooling as "head of the ideological division" of OUN. At that period he dreamed of living a "life as cruel as that of a she-wolf." He has since changed little intellectually. A nationalist newspaper wrote that Stetsko, from the time of his youth "until the present has not made any progress. He never takes part in political discussions, so no one can form any idea about his political qualities and abilities."

Intellectual abilities, however, were something he never lacked when quickly finding himself new masters and employers.

Yaroslav Stetsko turned up in Lviv in the wake of advancing *Wehrmacht* units, at a time when the Ukrainian people were battling to the last man against the Nazi onslaught. He came there with the notorious *Nachtigall* Battalion and, on June 30, 1941, with the knowledge of the Nazi administration, helped stage the political farce in which a "Ukrainian State in the Western Ukrainian lands" was proclaimed. The former "Premier" and his associates willingly quote today from what they call the "historic document of June 30," but they never forget to omit these lines; "Glory to the heroic German army and its Führer Adolf Hitler!"

After his beloved Nazi idol had been eliminated, Stetsko and other Nazi servants had their feet put back on the ground by new guardians in the West. At pres-

ent, the pro-Nazi group headed by Stetsko and backed up by the reactionary capitalist midst is one of the most extremist detachments of imperialism in which all hopes and plans are linked to the possibility of another world war. "The threat of a world war which is apparently approaching our world we regard as yet another, perhaps the very last and most fortunate occasion for the Ukrainian nation," cynically writes Stetsko's *Homin Ukrainy* (Canada). "Should one half — or even more — of mankind perish in this war, we will not regard this as too dear a price for the gaining of freedom." His other periodical, *Vizvolniy Shlyakh* in London, finds that there exists "a problem which does not involve the disarmament of the free world but, on the contrary, its being supplied with more weapons." "Blood and iron will judge between us," Yaroslav Stetsko, the "top leader," shakes his impotent fists at the Soviet Union.

He expressed similar ideas at WCFU-III. Later, M. Pidlisny wrote in *Ukrainski Visti* that Stetsko "read his speech, never looking up from his crib, like a part-time deacon."

Bazarko, Stetsko and the gang have a kindred spirit — a character by the name of Ivan Oleksyn. Once a SS career officer and now a member of the WCFU Secretariat, he speaks of these Nazi "combatants" as people who were instrumental and greatly required for the liberation cause," who allegedly kept the nationalist centers "at a proper level and who had the experience." With their leaving, Ivan Oleksyn declared at the 19th Congress of the so-called Ukrainian Labour Union, "liberation" activity "is getting increasingly complicated, harder to carry on and more demanding so long as we want to remain on the surface." Incidentally, as head of ULU, he attempted to remove the word "Labour" from its name, because it was in

sharp contradiction with his Nazi ego. Today, it is the "Fraternal Union" — something quite reminiscent of the Brotherhood of Former Soldiers of the SS Division "Halychyna," of which Oleksyn is far from a rank-and-file member.

Another former SS career officer Roman Drazhniovsky, currently in the WCFU upper echelons, is also a veteran member of the Brotherhood. A geographer by profession, he draws charts and maps, placing the Ukrainian borders as he pleases. Besides, he is in charge of "schooling" in the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America. So this professional killer is now entrusted with the education of children of American citizens. Of course, he uses SS methods of upbringing, based on *Hitlerjugend* traditions.

One of the other WCFU bosses is the professional hangman Stephen Mudryk. His only speciality is that of a "technical killer" — as he was once rather aptly described by his colleagues when heading Bandera's SB "security service" which under his guidance did its best to follow in the footsteps of the SS and Gestapo. He received his greatest delight when physically torturing people, sentencing them to death and personally executing those who refused to serve as blind tools of Bandera or who simply weren't to his liking. The sadistic inclinations of this OUN-Gestapo man scared even his fellow "party men."

The "scientific section" during WCFU-III was presided over by I. Hryniokh, formerly chaplain of the Nazi killer legion *Nachtigall.* He was also one of the top brass of UPA (Ukr. abbr. for the Ukrainian Insurgent Army). He always carried out the instructions of the Gestapo chief of what the Nazis had named the District of Galicia, doing everything willingly and meticulously. During a meeting with a representative of the Nazi police force in Ternopil on March 28, 1944, Hryniokh had

stated that "doing anything counter to German (i. e., Nazi — E. K.) interests or, in general, any trends hostile to the Germans (i. e., the Nazis) have never, nor will they ever be, anticipated in OUN policy." For his servile collaboration with the Nazis, Hryniokh was awarded the Iron Cross.

B. Hnatiuk, born in the village of Zalishchiky, is currently WCFU member of OUN-Nazi background. During the war he occupied leading posts at Nazi military-industrial projects.

V. Bezkhlibnik, member of the WCFU Secretariat. Was released from prison when the Nazis occupied Poland where he was serving a term for complicity in the assassination of Peracki, Polish Minister of the Interior. He was attached to the intelligence division of Bandera's General HQ which worked for the Nazi *Abwehr* military intelligence service. On Nazi assignments, Bezkhlibnik took part in the formation of UPA. At present, he heads a Ukrainian Canadian bourgeois nationalist organization known as the League for the Liberation of the Ukraine.

It is already traditional to see former Nazi collaborators among the WCFU elite. It is enough to recall who stood at the steering wheel of WCFU-II: SS man M. Bryk-Devyatnitsky; the late I. Vovchuk, former official of the Nazi administration of Nikopol; and S. Froliak, a trainee of the SS Camp in Travniki where future goons of the Nazi punitive commando units were drilled. Metropolitan Mstyslav (Stepan Skrypnyk) of the so-called Ukrainian Autocephalous Orthodox Church, who together with the Uniates gave his blessing to the fratricidal war of the OUNites, was among the supervisors of all three WCFU congresses. Current Congress leaders I. Dmitriv, I. Bilinskiy, V. Kosik, I. Vinnyk, S. Hrihortsiv, A. Melnyk, V. Kotulsky and Yu. Denisenko have been and still are members of terrorist pro-Nazi

OUN organizations. Pro-Nazi feelings also characterize the positions of other members of the new WCFU Secretariat.

The weekly *Vilne Slovo* thus described the methods the nationalist elite uses in its struggle for power within WCFU and its moral qualities: "They deceive their countrymen. These scoundrels have lost so much of their honor and cheat one and all with such zeal that they have come to believe their own lies. In every situation they only have their strong inclination toward servile obedience and their position to which they elbowed their way and which they use for their slanderous ends."

A typical example of the degradation inherent in the nationalist elite is Yosip Lysohir, who for quite a while served as WCFU Vice-President. A businessman, he is on the board of directors of a large bank in New Jersey and the long-term chairman of an emigre credit union organization — the so-called Ukrainian National Association. Since the summer of 1978, he has been its "honorary" president (lest people laugh, Lysohir was ousted from the UNA after 20 years as chairman for fraudulent practices).

Lysohir, or Lesawyer as he calls himself in a foreign style, is a man of ambition: he is in the leadership of more than 20 Ukrainian emigre and American institutions and organizations. At election time he tries to earn "political capital" by calling on Ukrainian Americans to vote for right-wingers who openly make anti-labour and anti-democratic declarations and have militarist aims. Lysohir's favourite was and still remains the "hawk" Senator Henry Jackson. However, he owes his "popularity" among emigrants not to his numerous titles and degrees, but to his peculiar "activities" which have long become the "talk of the town" in all circles of the emigration. Throughout the years, the nationalist

press has been publishing substantial compromising materials against Lysohir. Nevertheless, this doesn't hamper him from further "directing" nationalist institutions in "his own manner."

The magazine *Nash Holos* writes about Lysohir: "The desire to be 'something' is so strong with him that it blinds his eyes. He ignores the interests of the Ukrainian cause because of his yearning for honors (imaginary). This may be regarded as his individual weakness, illness...." Lysohir has a strange illness — when he is sick, losses are incurred by the institutions he heads. "The Ukrainian National Association will lose its membership, and the high-rise building (building of the UNA — E. K.) will be 'up to its neck' in debts." Lysohir is being accused of "deliberately ruining for many years what has been done by the community in 80 years," of "incompetency and irresponsibility, constantly violating the UNA statute and his oath, a long period of 'rule by deceit' which is seriously detrimental to the Ukrainian National Association, the entire community and the people."

Another emigre publication *Mi i Svit* (We and the World) magazine calls Lysohir a "swindler, thief and fraud" and writes about his love of money: "... he worships only the golden calf. He would readily sell his soul for several dollars. His patriotism is only in words. He will never give a cent for the people's cause if he doesn't earn back tenfold."

But he doesn't care a bit about all these accusations. When his financial machinations are mentioned, he carelessly retorts: "And what of it! We shall stop when we are caught!" (Lysohir is sure that "they won't be caught" as there is no one to do it.)

One may remark: nothing strange — businessman-thief. This happens often. But this swindler heads two dozen emigre organizations. This characterizes the entire

emigre nationalist community which puts, forward this sort of "figure" into leadership.

One more "people's father" is Leo Dobryansky, "president" of the Ukrainian Congress Committee of America; "president" of the American Council for World Freedom; chairman of the Foundation for Ukrainian Catholic Studies; chairman of the National Captive Nations Council (NCNC); professor of economics at Georgetown University; reserve colonel in U. S. military intelligence, and so on and so forth. This number of titles doesn't prevent (maybe even helps) professional intelligence officer Leo Dobryansky from "making a good fortune in various dirty and bad matters." The *Washington Observer* of January 15, 1977 wrote that he had personally participated in "money collecting tricks" of the fraudulent campaign headed by a certain Gorman.

Fulfilling the duties of a contact between the reactionary quarters in the U. S. Government and Congress and the leaders of the nationalist emigration (in other words, lobby), Dobryansky is the inspirer and initiator of numerous anti-communist actions by American congressmen. He has also had his finger in the resolutions of the U.S. Congress which torpedo businesslike cooperation between the USA and the USSR, and the establishment of equal relations between the two countries.

He dedicated his life to racist misanthropic propaganda. He chooses his "idols" in accordance with his views and these are the South Korean rulers, the former butcher of the Nicaraguan people Somoza, the recent Rhodesian Premier I. Smith and the Chilean dictator Pinochet.

Showing concern for the "disputed unity" of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist camp, Dobryansky called at the First WCFU Congress on the Ukrainian reaction to pool forces, to follow the example of the Zionists and utilize their experience, forms and methods of activity.

Referring to the ideology and practices of Zionism as the "best example of viability," he called on the WCFU members to activate their work aimed at the separation of emigrants of Ukrainian origin and the establishment of a "Ukrainian ghetto."

Dobryansky didn't come to the Second WCFU Congress, which very much gladdened the Ukrainian "community" gathered there. *Nash Holos* magazine aptly said the following about the attitude of the Ukrainian emigration to lobbyist Dorbyansky: "Prof. Dobryansky didn't come to the congress, which is good on his part. It would have been better of him if he hadn't sent his greetings in English, a language not understandable to delegates from the European continent and South America, and even to older people from English-speaking countries. Is it becoming for the 'führer' of the largest Ukrainian community not to know his native tongue?"

The nationalist leaders impatiently waited for Dobryansky to speak at WCFU-III. They had hoped that he would specially learn an address in Ukrainian for the gathering. But this was in vain. The only thing he was capable of was to utter a few words of greetings in mixed English-Ukrainian. But even this was a smashing sensation.

The nationalist "church knights" are quite a match for the "politicians." Mstyslav (Stepan Skrypnyk), leader of the so-called Ukrainian Orthodox Church, takes an active part in the political intrigues of the "liberation." He has acquired quite a bit of experience in this. Nephew and aide of the ill-famed Simon Petlura, "co-operator" in Zalishchiky, Stepan Skrypnyk in his young years was known among the people as an agent and informer of Pilsudski's *defenzywa* intelligence.

During World War II, Skrypnyk published a pro-fascist newspaper, and with the Gestapo's consent "restored" the Ukrainian Orthodox Church in Ukraine. In

recognition of these services, the Nazi invaders made him "bishop" in the spring of 1942. The newly-baked "lord" justified the fascists' trust as much as he could. He actively stood for callaboration with the Nazi invaders: it is known, for instance, that T. Bulba-Borovets, one of the organizers of the nationalist bands, received in 1942 two letters from Mstyslav in which the author demanded that the former "unconditionally enter into collaboration with them (Nazis — E. K.) for joint struggle."

At the Second WCFU Congress, Mstyslav not only confirmed his demand that the top clergy should take part in the activities of reactionary nationalist centers. As a direct participant in the Second WCFU Congress, he, together with Uniate priests Maxim Hermaniuk and Wasyl Kushnir, saved the Second WCFU Congress from ruin.

Skrypnyk's flirting with the Uniates has a long history, starting from his sojourn in DP camps in Germany. His attendance at the Second Vatican Council Session was crowned with a big bang when he paid homage to the holy remains of the Uniate "hero" Josafat Kuncewicz, that same Kuncewicz, cursed by his people, who propagated Catholicism among the Ukrainians by fire and sword.

Skrypnyk's actions once again demonstrated that he used the cloth not to protect the interests of the emigre Orthodox Church, let alone those of the Ukrainian emigres. Under his holy robe, Skrypnyk conceals his dark past and the scandalous present as a turncoat and traitor to the Ukrainian nation.

Today, the nationalist clergy — first of all the Uniates and the Orthodox adherents — do not limit their endeavours to anti-Soviet campaigning among Ukrainian emigres. They also do quite a lot to discredit Soviet foreign and domestic policy in the eyes of people around

the world, to slander the peace movement and somehow to influence the foreign and domestic policy of their countries, as well as the "Eastern policy" of the Vatican and the world "ecumenical movement." They suggest to the imperialist circles their own methods of struggle against the USSR and against countries of the socialist community and try to promote military hysteria among vast public circles in the West.

It is therefore only natural that the emigre masses are becoming increasingly indifferent to WCFU and what it does, particularly its anti-Soviet politicking. Nor was there any coincidence in the fact that, following WCFU-III, a Ukrainian nationalist periodical in the United States carried a letter signed by I. Dubylko. Although this message had formally nothing to do with the occasion, it was significant how its author grieved about the fact that so much "time, work and money is spent by honest and sober-minded people before they acquaint themselves with these 'geniuses' and then realize whom they are dealing with and what all those empty words about 'liberation policy' and 'liberation fronts' are really worth."

In light of all this, one can also understand what is behind the complaint of the Uniate organ *America* (January 20, 1979) that most Ukrainians living abroad "are not members of OUN, nor are they affiliated outside their countries of residence."

The Chicago-based *Ukrainske Zhittya* aptly described the current WCFU big wheels before their latest gathering as people blinded by "ambition, the thirst for publicity and for living prosperously.... There are people with 'copper foreheads' who have long stopped believing in such things as national dignity or national honor! They must be exposed and thrown out of our community.... These people are no longer Ukrainian, they are agents whose lines of employment are alien to us."

The only thing that could be added to the above characteristic is that all these people like Bezkhlibnik, Mudryk, Skrypnyk and Hryniokh have, in fact, never been Ukrainian in the true sense of the word.

After all is said and done, they simply cannot be identified otherwise than enemy agents. Their ego is manifestly Nazi. It was under their guidance that WCFU and its member organizations became hotbeds of propaganda campaigns employing cruelty, hatred, war and murder, which they presented as perfectly normal phenomena. For WCFU, what is normally considered abnormal and immoral is absolutely normal and morally blameless.

The Canadian emigre periodical *Vilne Slovo* wrote that the Ukrainian nationalist elite is composed of figures bent on "fantasy and fanaticism," and that today these people seek to gain control over the entire life of the Ukrainian emigration. The list of these "fantasy-happy" figures could be made very long, but would it be worth the trouble? Maybe it is best to mention some very characteristic representatives of the nationalist "leading strata" who themselves are highlighted by the nationalist press.

Vilne Slovo: "We consider that all those figures bent on fantasy and fanaticism have been and are still regarded as the key reason for our 'continuous' decline. Their evil ego and haughtiness, their intrinsically false front and fraudulent practices all add up to this. What is the true worth of a political figure who cheats his own countrymen, confining them to the realm of illusions?"

Notatnyk: "The main drawback of our politicians and public figures is their inexperience, intellectual backwardness and professional incompetence."

Batkivshchina: "People whom nobody knew in the Native Land between the two world wars and of whom

nobody heard anything now often present themselves as political leaders, in the hope that in 30-50 years there will be no living witness left who will confirm or deny certain events."

Ukrainske Zhittya: "Quite often, emigre political parties are headed by people whose political education is insufficient..., who are able to camouflage their miserable political caliber." "The community is forced to be under the thumb of primitive party men and half-educated individuals... and it is precisely with the kind permission and knowledge of these primitive persons that the members of the WCFU Secretariat are selected."

"THE OATH OF ALLEGIANCE TO HITLER... FURTHER BINDING"

It was in Lviv, in the summer of 1943. Rather thin rows of nationalists dressed in Nazi uniforms were lined up in one of the squares. At an SS officer's command, the "warriors" shouted *Sieg Heil!* three times. After that, the speaker's platform was mounted by a Uniate priest, V. Laba. Casting loyal glances at Wechter, the Nazi Governor of the District of Galicia, the reverend father spoke in German, thanking the Führer for his permission to form the *SS Grenadieren Waffen Division Galizien* and to fight "shoulder to shoulder with the heroic German soldier."

Thus began the campaign for recruiting "volunteers" for the division in Galician towns and villages. From church pulpits, it was proclaimed that "he who does not obey the instructions of German authorities will be punished"; "he who does not send his sons to the SS Division shall incur His wrath."

As for the "Ukrainian character" of this division, M. Kapustyansky, a member of the Melnyk leadership,

described it in his book *History of the Ukrainian Army* after the war: "The command posts of the Division were occupied by Germans. The command of the infantry, artillery regiments and almost all the battalions of the division also rested in German hands.... German predominance was such that even officers in charge of rations or noncommissioned officers in charge of payrolls of companies and battalions were German. There was a German in every, even the smallest, unit, who was the eye and ear of the Division command."

The magazine *Samostiina Ukraina*, run by the Organization for the State Rebirth of the Ukraine — which is part of WCFU — also admitted that the division was commanded by Nazi officers whose only purpose was to use the Ukrainian janissaries as "cannon fodder." The right to issue orders in the division belonged exclusively to the Nazis. One of these orders of the Nazi command, issued after the shattering defeat of the "Halychyna" Division by Soviet forces near Brody (July 1944), read: "The Division HQ, the staffs of the regiments, signal units and separate posts of the Division will be occupied by German personnel." These words are factual proof of Kapustyansky's revelation.

In addition to the above, one week prior to WCFU-III, the Chicago-based *Ukrainske Zhittya* confirmed that in 1943 the Nazis formed the 14th *SS Grenadieren Division Galizien* and not the "First Ukrainian National Division."

Participation in the SS Division "Halychina" was one of the most scandalous "accomplishments" of the nationalists (including those currently heading WCFU). It, however, certainly did not initiate their activity as traitors to the Ukrainian people or was some exception from their traditions. The OUN rulers who now control WCFU consciously accepted their role in Hitler's aggressive plans as spies, saboteurs, bandits, soidiers in

Nazi punitive commando units and professional killers. Long before the creation of the SS "Halychyna" Division, Hitler's *Mein Kampf* had become their handbook. Inebriated by the bloody orgy staged by the Nazi occupiers in the Ukrainian land, people who at present demagogically call themselves "free Ukrainians" sent the Führer their assurances that they were "inspired by his ideals" and conveyed to him their "deepest feelings." Foaming at the mouth, they hailed the enforcers of the horrible "new order."

In the winter of 1940-41, the Nazi legions of *Nachtigall* and *Roland* and other units were composed of nationalists. Their combat records number thousands of innocent victims. Thus, on the night of July 3-4, 1941, *Nachtigall* thugs exterminated Lviv's finest intellectuals. Within two days, the "liberators" tortured to death several thousand Jews alone. On October 21, 1941, *Nachtigall* and *Roland* were reorganized as the punitive *Schutzmanschaftbattalion*-201 which, as part of Bach-Salewski's Nazi Corps, carried out bloody terror in Byelorussia.

The "new order" was zealously upheld in the Nazi-occupied Ukraine by subversive nationalist "march groups," the Ukrainian German police, UPA bandits and other criminals acting under the auspices of SS operative commandos, the Gestapo and SD. All these people were referred to as "combatants" during WCFU-III.

P. Uhera, a former "combatant," wrote about UPA's activity: "I was in UPA and fought against the Soviet army with German military units.... I know the truth about UPA. It was no different from the ill-famed SS 'Halychyna' Division!"

In *Helen — the Spy of the Century* by C. Cookridge (U. K.), it is established in black and white that UPA not only collaborated with the occupiers but also used the good services of German officers and instructors.

Commenting on this new publication, *Ukrainski Visti* in New York noted that UPA "soldiers" who currently pose as "free Ukrainians" and "representatives of the emigration" used garrots and lassos, burned villages, defenseless women and children, and tortured and impaled (they even did that!) all whom they didn't like. Hundreds of innocent people tortured to death, wells chocked with corpses in Derman and Lanivtsi, burned villages like Kortelisy, Mizun, etc., treacherous killings at night — this was how former Ukrainian SS thugs and today's "combatants" "liberated" the Ukrainian people.

Their servile collaboration with the Nazi aggressors was an inherent part of the very essence of nationalist ideology and the old pro-Nazi orientation of these "liberators." Stephen Bandera, for example, who is now the idol of the WCFU people, whose "creations" are published and whose "jubilees" are celebrated, once declared: "It is recommended to exterminate all who offer resistance to the regime; to exterminate primarily intellectuals, who must not be allowed access to any government body, and, generally, to make their training impossible."

In that particular case, Bandera didn't make any discovery because he, in fact, simply retold what Himmler had said, urging the destruction of the Slavic intelligentsia as the representative of the Slav people's culture, historical accomplishments and scientific and technological knowledge.

The same kind of ideology is publicized by the current WCFU bosses who are prepared to practice it any minute. In January of 1979, the nationalist "theoretician" M. Prokop, one of the top figures of what is known as OUN Abroad, approved the nationalists' resolution to follow the "anti-democratic German (i. e., Nazi — E. K.) standard." He wrote that the OUN people and other Nazi collaborators among the "independents"

did not utter a word of protest against the rule of terror enforced on the Ukrainian land by the German occupiers. According to him, it could not have been otherwise, since "the totalitarian regimes of Germany or Italy were in agreement" with the principles of OUN.

Speaking at a conference of the American Association of Historians in late 1977, S. Horak of Western Illinois University, an "expert" on the history of nationalism, said: "They (the OUNites — E. K.) looked for friends in Berlin and for enemies in Moscow.... Berlin was where the nationalists placed their hopes. Western democracies weren't taken into consideration."

Ukrainskiy Holos, the newspaper of the Petlura faction in Canada, admitted on November 8, 1978, that the obedient service by the Ukrainian "liberators" to the Nazis began right at the very beginning of the war, and in 1944 it "was in full progress (sic) and continued long after the end of the Second World War." The aforementioned *Samostiina Ukraina* of the Melnyk group assured 29 years after the war that "the oath of allegiance to Hitler," taken in 1945, "was not withdrawn, it remained binding...." In other words, it is still effective for the WCFU elite.

Nazi Germany's defeat in the war taught the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists nothing. After the fall of the Third Reich, Stephen Lenkawsky, one of the leaders of the OUN Bandera group, wrote in the nationalist magazine *Studiya* (No 1, 1948) what he thought a typical "free Ukrainian" should be like: "For us, people who are kind, genial and honest are not useful or worthy of our attention or interest. This category of people is not worthy of our attention and does not fit into our plans. In our understanding, such people are good for nothing; they are zeroes. Sons of bitches are the ones we find both interesting and worthy of our attention, a category of people which are capable of

anything, and it is these people that we ought to promote to the leading nucleus. It is actually necessary for us to inherit the fascist-Hitlerite methods, and not to be afraid, inwardly, but to have the guts to accept and recognize ourselves as fascists. We must fully perceive all this and appraise all members of our ogranization along these lines."

All these "combatants" and "theoreticians" sailed across the ocean in search of new opportunities to continue their careers as lackeys in the employ of reactionary and fascist forces. The late key OUN figure M. Kapustyansky, mentioned above, in a letter of March 4, 1949 to the U. S. Army HQ in Germany, said that "the Ukrainian warriors will be given an opportunity to emigrate to the USA and, in the event of a third world war, will actively join the struggle against Red Moscow, for which they have both the experience and desire."

Zhittya i Slovo, a progressive Ukrainian Canadian newspaper, was alluding to the WCFU leaders when it wrote: "With the routing of Hitlerism by the world's democratic forces, these gentlemen, having comfortably settled in various capitalist countries, continue their shameful activity, supported by all kinds of reaction."

It is these surviving "combatants" and their followers who were the main speakers at WCFU-III and set the tone of its commissions and sessions. These people also constitute the WCFU upper echelons.

Considering that nationalist propaganda may well deny the fact that WCFU-III was dominated by exactly this sort of "combatant," former servicemen of Nazi military units, here is what the pro-Banderite *Svoboda* wrote on December 16, 1978: "During the Third WCFU Congress, combatants made up a considerable percentage of the delegates from all countries. This is not surprising, because they are the activists who are often up front in political and public life."

By "party" affiliation, OUN, particularly its Bandera faction, was most extensively represented at WCFU-III. The Trenton-centered *Nash Holos* wrote about its past (No. 2, 1978) that "OUN was in close contact with Nazi Germany... and its members promptly began to cooperate. Its flags hung from buildings, and their walls bore inscriptions to the effect that inside were offices which operated officially. The Germans would have never allowed a relatively democratic party any such thing." "The ideology of this community is extremely reactionary and bears the label of discredited fascism... the OUN leaders were not directed by patriotic motives; ...what there was was the desire to intimidate or physically destroy those Ukrainians who opposed the foolish 'OUN policy,' " adds *Ukrainske Zhittya* today.

That OUN's activity based on purely Nazi principles is confirmed by the atmosphere of moral and physical terror which prevailed and still prevails in relations between individual OUN groupings. Even during WWII, Bandera's SB "security service" liquidated hundreds of adherents of the Bulba faction, a number of members of the Melnyk "leadership," and quite a few rank-and-file OUN supporters of the Melnyk group. Bandera's SB men, alarmed by the presence of "certain elements" in the UPA ranks, shot all the members of a number of bandit nationalist gangs. S. Mudryk, currently a member of the WCFU Secretariat, was personally involved in these executions.

Plots and schemes, and "inter-department" friction that now characterize the nationalist milieu show the falsity of declarations by the "independent" propaganda machine about "reconciliation" between the Melnyk and Bandera groups which was allegedly achieved at WCFU-III.

Lest anyone think that the OUN leaders want to forget their past or even feel ashamed of it, *Samostiina*

Ukraina, on behalf of the Melnyk "leadership" to which, incidentally, WCFU's "Half-President" M. Plawiuk also belongs, called on "free Ukrainians" to organize acts of terror against representatives of Soviet power in the West." (No. 9-10, 1978.) "No other political formation has greater moral credit to start on this great and daring cause than the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists with PUN (Ukr. abbr. for Ukrainian Nationalist Leadership) at the head," cynically declared the OUN-WCFU hierarchy.

Bearing the same in mind, U. Tselevych, who spoke at WCFU-III, urged the "independents," immediately after the end of the Congress, to rally even closer round the principles of Nazism and not be "afraid" of being "unpopular" or called "epithets like extremists, nationalists or fascists."

The entire atmosphere of the Congress was permeated with Nazism. Those who showed the slightest disagreement with the OUNites, even in word, were denied the right to speak. An "order police force" was even set up, composed of SS veterans of the "Halychyna" Division, to quieten down these "disobedient" elements, and this when there was actually no antifascist opposition during WCFU-III. Instead, there was the usual bickering over spheres of influence and money. O. Pytliar, an OUN correspondent, characterized the so-called "opposition" as follows: "It is rather comic after all when representatives of what used to be the extreme left wing call themselves 'leftists.'" And then, "Once again, it is quite amazing to hear some yesterday's 'collaborators' attmept to pose as supporters of human rights."

When the leader of "Zarevo" Society and several others stated at WCFU-III that "there are fascists among the delegates," there were shouts in the audience that to be a fascist is a "great honor" for a nation-

alist. After the Congress, one of the younger participants declared in an interview with R. Shramenko, a correspondent of the Melnyk faction: "The outdated Statute and other methods, as well as the haughty stubbornness and irresponsibility of certain people in some communities, are placing us in the position of degrading neo-Nazism which will do no good either in the Ukraine or to us here, but will lead us to extreme absurdity." I. Kedrin, however, put it quite frankly, saying that Soviet charges that the leaders, organizers and participants in WCFU-III had collaborated with the Nazi occupiers were "the best publicity (sic) for WCFU."

DREAMING OF ANOTHER "DRANG NACH OSTEN"

War tops the long list of anti-Soviet plans which Ukrainian nationalists of all shades hope to employ to attain their objectives. They consider that a new "crusade" by world imperialism against the Soviet Union is the only means of inter-state relations. It is not coincidental, therefore, that nationalist propagands has always given the loudest praise to aggression and the use of brutal force.

One of the nationalist program documents dating back to WWII reads: "We needn't be afraid that people will damn us for cruelty. Let only half the 40-million Ukrainian population remain; there is nothing terrible about it...."

More than three and a half decades have gone by since, but even so nothing has changed in the mentality of nationalist warmongers. At that period, they were prepared to destroy half of the Ukrainian population; today they think in terms of one half of the entire human race. Having proclaimed peace to be the "greatest

evil," the Melnyk and Bandera-minded cutthroats are calling for nuclear war.

Tearing the Ukraine away from the fraternal Union of Soviet Republics, enforcing a capitalist regime on it, say reactionary publications, is possible only through war and foreign intervention. Often, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist propaganda follows in the footsteps of its Western counterpart, trying to disguise its militant calls with "democratic" and even "humane" phraseology.

That this camouflage is purely tactical and in no way indicates any "softening" in the nationalist techniques, "humanization" or "democratization" can be seen from numerous and irrefutable facts. Thus, the WCFU elite nowadays cynically quote Chairman Mao to the effect that the destruction of half of mankind would be nothing out of the ordinary. Let the Ukrainian nation die in the atomic inferno if it would realize the mad plans of the WCFU people! This is their credo. War hysteria, brazen propaganda against detente and peace, fanaticism and the readiness to once again serve as the executors of the bloody plans of international reaction are still characteristic of the militarist schemes of the WCFU bosses. In the present situation when the forces of reaction are trying to reduce the achievements of detente to naught, while fanning the fire of "psychological warfare" against the USSR, these odious traits of Ukrainian nationalism manifest themselves to an even greater extent.

Prior to WCFU-II, the influential Canadian *Globe and Mail* published a statement of the Association of United Ukrainian Canadians which pointed out that the WCFU elite aims to publicize both cold and "hot" war, which the West should wage against the USSR. These plans are still at the center of WCFU.

Detente and peaceful coexistence as the key principle in relations between countries with different political

systems are viewed by the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists as an impending threat to their insane plans. This is precisely why the reactionary press constantly comes out with appeals like "Show your opposition to all the conferences for peace, disarmament and detente!" "Detente is a policy which leads to catastrophe."

Before the Helsinki Conference for European Security and Cooperation which involved the United States and Canada among the countries of Europe, the WCFU leaders tried to discredit the very idea of a reliable peace. In June of 1974, they sent a telegram to the aggressive NATO military bloc in which they called for exploiting detente to further interfere in the internal affairs of the socialist countries.

For a long time no-one has had any doubts that the OUN-controlled WCFU acts under the protection of and with material support from Western intelligence and subversive services. So far as the latter are concerned, the so-called "Ukrainian question" is only a front behind which they can interfere in Soviet internal affairs. Both during the preparation for and the Helsinki Conference itself, the WCFU upper echelons complied with the will of most reactionary Western circles when they called on the participants in that international forum to demand a "revision" of Europe's borders established after the debacle of German Nazism. The Conference's confirmation of the existing state borders on the continent was described by the nationalist press as a crime perpetrated by Western governments which has "bound their hands" by the obligation to continue the policy of non-interference.

The Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, however, was what perhaps enraged the Ukrainian "liberators" — as the nationalist pseudo-patriots abroad call themselves — the greatest. On the eve of the Conference, individual WCFU member organizations urged the govern-

ments of countries with Ukrainian emigrants not to sign the Final Act. After its publication, nationalist propaganda did its best to prevent the emigres from acquainting themselves with the document. Thus, it falsified its main provisions and hushed up its key principles. Not one of the reactionary emigre editions published the text, but all of them pressed the West not to adhere to its provisions. In August 1975, the nationalists called on their supporters to "do everything possible to correct or at least to lessen the damage brought by the signing of that document." In every step and statement, the WCFU rulers underlined their hatred of any peace initiative.

The Catholic newspaper *America* (Philadelphia) carried an article entitled "It's Best Not to Sign Pacts With the USSR" in which it pointed out that the U.S. government would be much better off if it didn't conclude any disarmament agreement with the Soviet Union, but if it did, the agreement should be regarded as a mere "sheet of paper." Like hungry crows the reactionary emigre periodicals pounced on the Soviet-American strategic arms limitation treaty and their joy knew no bounds when President Carter decided to postpone ratification of SALT-II.

The strengthening of the aggressive U. S. policy towards Iran, Afghanistan and other countries in the Near and Middle East, American support for the bloody regimes in Chile, Paraguay and South Korea and the threats to Cuba from the White House are what the WCFU elite believes can improve the conditions for nationalist activity.

On a par with "big-time" Western propaganda, anti-Soviet Ukrainian editions abroad are trying actively to exploit the false claim of a "Soviet military threat," urging the countries of the aggressive NATO bloc to deal a "pre-emptive strike" against the socialist pow-

ers. Some of these publications openly call for a military attack against the USSR. Most nationalist periodicals are chock full of hostile oppositon to detente, disarmament and peace; they contain open appeals for an immediate war against the Soviet Union, when capitalism allegedly is stronger militarily than the socialist countries. This advantage must be exploited quickly, thus showing one's determination. The idea of a "crusade" against the socialist community is promoted by one of the reactionary emigre leaders, Colonel (Reserve) Leo Dobryansky of U.S. military intelligence, in his lectures organized by the Pentagon at military training institutions.

People of good will, nations around the world, and many political leaders in the capitalist world are increasingly aware of the danger posed by the arms race. They are intensifying their struggle for peaceful coexistence between countries with different social and political systems, for ensuring observance of the principles of non-interference in internal affairs, and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all countries, big and small. Despite the reaction's desperate attempts to deter detente and revive the cold war, mankind has not lost hope that disarmament, peace and universal security will ultimately prevail.

The Ukrainian nationalists believe that the struggle for peace and detente in the main obstacle to their "liberation" plans. Everything human and humane causes the reactionary emigres, the enemies of the loftiest aspirations of mankind, to foam with rage.

As obedient servants of the ultra right of their countries, the WCFU leadership ruthlessly attacks all those discerning politicians in the West who speak against the arms race, take realistic stands, are more or less objective in viewing the international situation, and realize the threat which exacerbating world tensions

poses, to the entire human race. Often, Western governments find themselves the target of such attacks. In this manner the nationalists hope to stimulate "pressure from below" against these governments, demanding from them more spending on armaments, and pushing them into political and military adventures.

Under a program drawn up by nationalist scribblers, the West — first of all the USA — must begin preparations for another world war by engineering local conflicts in Africa, South America and Asia. After the USA's defeat in the vile war in Vietnam, the reactionary press wrote that this failure did not indicate that "any involvement in intervention" against other countries was "unnecessary." Failures of this kind only should stimulate preparation for a new world war. The WCFU chiefs were delirious with joy when the United States took an adventuresome military course against Iran. As soon as the White House officially announced its intention to oppose the Iranian revolution by force, *Svoboda* published the article "Cold War — the End of Detente." It was full of vile slander against the peoples of Iran, Afghanistan and other countries struggling for national independence.

It is general knowledge that the U. S. Congress set up a special commission for monitoring other countries' compliance with the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference for European Security and Cooperation. The very existence of this commission as a self-styled watchdog of sovereign countries contradicts the spirit of the Helsinki accords. This commission stages "hearings" and uses as "witnesses" outspoken advocates of the cold war, including top WCFU functionaries. During some of its sessions "testimony" was given by enemies of normal U. S.-Soviet relations such as Leo Dobryansky, Andriy Zvarun and several others. These people have never had anything to do whatsoever with the Ukraine, they

have never been to the USSR, and know nothing about Soviet reality. The only thing that interests them is to persuade the U. S. Administration to meddle in the USSR's internal affairs.

At a session of this commission in Washington (April 1977), Dobryansky expressed regret that the Soviet Union hadn't been pressed hard enough for "concessions" in Helsinki, and urged that this be done in Belgrade where representatives of the countries which signed the Final Act were to assemble.

Dobryansky's appeal was a continuation of the military hysteria unleashed by Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists during WCFU-I and WCFU-II, which appealed for actions counter to popular will to live in peace, for interference in the USSR's internal affairs, for efforts to hinder the normalization of relations between East and West, and for support for the arms race and bigger military budgets.

The way U. S. official circles use the nationalist warmongers is inherently provocative and often takes the form of open interference in the USSR's internal affairs. Thus, former Vice-President Walter Mondale received a group of Ukrainian "independence" fighters at the White House, and promised to support their campaign for the release from prison of a criminal convicted by the Soviet law. This was done at a time when thousands of war criminals guilty of genocide in Nazi-occupied territories were living and acting with a fine hand in the United States.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists attacked detente with new ardor during the Belgrade Conference for European Security and Cooperation. They organized a campaign for sending parliamentarians of the member states appeals and memorandums opposing any concessions to the socialist countries, and for making any agreement dependent on the attitude the Soviet and

other socialist governments display toward fabricated grievances about their "observance of human rights."

In the 170-page "appeal" to the Western members of the Belgrade meeting, the WCFU leaders demanded "pressure" on the Soviet Union. Having arrived in Belgrade as tourists, they began to giving out anti-Soviet leaflets and supplying delegations with provocative materials. For this activity, which was incompatible with International Law, the nationalist *agents provocateurs* were expelled from Yugoslavia.

It might as well be added here that the world public has always properly dealt with similar attempts by cheap politicos to sow the seeds of dissention. Every time, however, having been pushed to the wall, the WCFU bosses persisted in casting aspersions on the forces of peace and democracy with even greater zeal, while struggling for obsequious favors from reactionaries of all shades, bowing and scraping before their masters from secret service agencies, begging them for handouts.

After WCFU-III, the attacks of the Bandera, Melnyk and clerical nationalist press on the peace policy of the socialist community became even sharper and less disguised. Discrediting the policy of peaceful coexistence and torpedoing detente is the major objective of WCFU's nationalist propaganda and the efforts of its bosses.

The OUN-Stetsko magazine *Vizvolniy Shlyakh* (U. K.) noted in February 1979: "Today, one can count of Western support of the liberation aspirations of the Ukraine (i. e., of the Ukrainian nationalists — E. K.) only if detente were to collapse completely and relations between the West and the East to become very tense again."

Leaders of nationalist organizations are stepping up their anti-detente campaigning. Nationalist periodicals carry more and more inciting and openly provocative materials. Only seldom — for opinion's sake — do the

yellow-blue warmongers camouflage their war appeals as "historical" excursions, theoretizing, etc. This is the case when people calling for a world thermonuclear catastrophe, for the destruction of entire countries and nations — and, perhaps, all civilization — demagogically try to pose as champions of justice, "genuine-human morals and ethics," and the like.

As a matter of fact, there was an article in the Uniate *America* (December 30, 1978) entitled "Policy, Morals and Ethics." The author, L. Rikhtitsky, grieves; he is simply desperate over the fact that the USA did not heed the "father of the cold war" Winston Churchill and several trigger-happy American generals, and didn't drop an A-bomb on Moscow right after the war, thus finishing off the Soviet Union and world communism "with one blow." This maniac is deadly serious when he muses that the U. S. administration acted "abnormally" when it declared war against Nazi Germany. Towards the end of the war, at least, this "moralist" continues, the USA should have organized the armies of the Western Allies into one striking force, adding to it what was left of the Nazi *Wehrmacht* and the gangs of the so-called Ukrainian Insurgent Army (UPA), and attacked the Soviet Union.

A nuclear war is inevitable, exclaims this WCFU hack in another article in Bandera's weekly *Schlach Peremohy* (West Germany). So it is necessary to immediately begin to prepare for a "crusade" aganist the USSR and the other socialist countries, he concludes.

By shamelessly twisting facts, he tries to prove that the aggressive intentions of certain U. S. circles and their pressing the administration for meddling even more openly in other countries' internal affairs under the pretext of the "defense of human rights" is a "very moral" and "fair" policy. There is also perfect harmony between the dictates of nationalist morality and ethics

and the attempts by certain Western circles — specifically the NATO generals — to play the "Chinese card" against the Soviet Union. *Svoboda* thus commented on Deng Xiaoping's visit to the United States: "Normalizing relations between Washington and Peking can indeed strengthen the U. S. position in its talks with the Soviet Union... with regard to SALT-II."

I. Ovechko, another former Nazi collaborator, is also an exponent of militarist "morals" who was bitterly disappointed by the "lost opportunity" to launch a nuclear attack against the USSR toward or after the end of WWII. He criticized Jimmy Carter for what he called "indecision" during the recent revolutionary events in Iran. There is no mistaking provocative overtones in Ovechko's reply to his own question, "What lies in store for Jimmy Carter?" "He would have had far fewer troubles to face in this world had his predecessors listened to Churchill 30 years ago.... And he advised the USA to use an atomic bomb against Moscow even when Moscow was only creating the Berlin problem and the USA was the sole possessor of the atomic bomb." Nothing, however, could be more cynical than Ovechko's last phrase: "Someone may say that ordinary women and children also lived and still live in Moscow." But must this circumstance, he asks, prevent us from launching a nuclear attack against the Soviet Union? His answer is, "Not at all. It wasn't I but Churchill who gave this advice..."

Still another nationalist "strategist," S. Zhenetsky, titled his article in *Vilniy Svit* "Will America Repeat the Mistake in the Third World War?" In this "creation," lacking elementary logic and full of empty phraseology, he proceeds from the assumption that the USSR will shortly find itself at war with China, so in that case the USA must not miss the opportunity to destroy the Soviet Union.

Generally, the bourgeois nationalists have increasingly often linked their "liberation" plans to the hegemonic policy of the Maoist gang in China. Leaders of the reactionary Ukrainian emigration see in Peking's current policy "gratifying prospects for the cause of liberation" and look forward to the time when China finally musters the courage to pounce on the Soviet Union.

In their orientation toward the Maoists, the "independents" do not even rule out the possibility that, were China to defeat the USSR, the nationalists would have to reckon with the presence of a "Chinese governor in Kiev." And why not? They have served Nazi governors and will serve their Chinese counterparts. They will serve anyone as long as they are paid their thirty pieces of silver.

The hopes of the Ukrainian nationalists in the current reactionary administration in Peking, and their readiness to serve it on any terms are advertised with special persistence now that the chauvinist Hua Guofeng — Deng Xiaoping clique has completely exposed itself as a traitor to the socialist revolution, and as an enemy of peace, freedom and national independence.

The treacherous, villainous invasion of socialist Vietnam by the Chinese militarists, Peking's open policy of destabilizing the situation in South-East Asia, the Maoists active provocative and subversive actions on the borders with Laos and India, their undisguised support of Afghan counterrevolution and their involvement in the training of terrorist bands and sending them to Afghanistan have greatly raised the spirits of the nationalist warmongers.

"Is it really starting?" the Bandera weekly *Schlach Peremohy* asked gleefully on March, 11, 1979, commenting on the Chinese aggression in Vietnam. With the lack of shame typical of the Bandera nationalist group, the author, Z. Pelensky (now dead), voiced the secret

dreams of the WCFU elite. He made no secret of the fact that his like-minded counterparts in other nationalist groups were not so much interested in China's "punitive action" against Vietnam as in the prospects of its mushrooming into a Sino-Soviet war. It was possible, Pelensky regretfully admitted, that it would not result in an armed conflict between China and the USSR this time, but one should not lose hopes — sooner or later the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists would witness it.

Without exaggeration, this topic has become the main theme in the pages of many nationalist newspapers and magazines.

Especially active in this sense is the Melnyk-OUN "party," headed by the current WCFU President, M. Plawiuk. For a number of years this nationalist group has oriented its "liberation" plans toward Peking. In 1970, the Melnyk adherents set up what became known as the Society for Studies of Asian Problems, supervised by M. Styranko, a zealous propagandist of the nationalist-Maoist alliance. Behind its innocent façade, this ogranization acts as a subversive ideological institution, aimed at supporting the aggressive foreign political line of the Chinese hegemonists, supplying Chinese propaganda services with anti-Soviet data, etc.

The Melnyk faction is now trying to get Ukrainians abroad to believe that putting their money on the Hua Guofeng — Deng Xiaoping hegemoic clique can produce better opportunities for the "Ukrainian liberation cause." Its periodicals, specifically *Ukrainske Slovo* and *The New Pathway*, are busy making endless calculations about the Chinese and Soviet armed forces, and pondering about the position the USA and Japan would take in the event of a Sino-Soviet war and what their tactics would be.

It has already been mentioned that nationalist periodicals try not only to whitewash, but even to justify

the aggressive course of Peking. For example, not one nationalist periodical uttered a word in defense of Vietnam as the victim of aggresion. What is more, China's treacherous attacks on Vietnam are still described as a "step forced by the Vietnamese threat." A more cynical statement would be hard to imagine. Can anyone of sound mind believe that Vietnam really intended to "throw a noose round China's neck" with its thousand million population, huge area and economic strength? But this is precisely what *Ukrainske Slovo* wrote on March 4, 1979.

The history of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism is a history of degrading servitude for foreign enemies of the Ukraine. One has to abandon all scruples and shame to make public statements like that written by L. Rikhtitsky in the pro-Banderite newspaper *Svoboda* (November 21, 1978). In his opinion, since "the world is not governed by ideals," it is only natural that the nationalist politicos are prepared to enter an alliance with anybody, "even with the devil himself." "And so today," continues Rikhtitsky, "our quiet hopes are directed along the lines of military reprisals against Russia, and that this conflict will give us a new historical chance." If one recalls that this was actually written during WCFU-III and for a newspaper which is the mouthpiece of the rulers of this "Congress of the Unfree," the whole thing really needs no comment.

Nationalist periodicals, especially those controlled by the Melnyk and Bandera groups, which are the leading WCFU components, are literally filled to capacity with materials containing malicious attacks on the Soviet proposal to resolve international problems at the table of peaceful negotiations. None of these papers has ever mentioned the proposal of the Committee of Foreign Ministers of the Warsaw Treaty Organization for a conference involving all European countries as well as the

United States and Canada, which could agree on political steps to ease military tensions in Europe and, subsequently, to limit armed forces.

The WCFU elite and all the Ukrainian reactionary forces abroad are sent berserk by international developments promoting detente, and strengthening mutual trust among governments and countries with different social and political systems. The Ukrainian nationalists are still waging a propaganda war against the Final Act of the European Conference for Security and Cooperation (Helsinki, 1975) and the accords reached at a similar assembly in Belgrade (1977). The nationalist reactionary campaign to influence the general European meeting in Madrid is marked by attempts to divert world public attention from the main issue of our time — safeguarding peace.

Wherever there is tension and a threat to peace, the Ukrainian nationalists try to pour their own fat on the fire so it grows even hotter, hoping it will help realize their chimeric dreams of "liberating the Ukraine."

WHERE MONEY TALKS, TRUTH IS SILENT

Bourgeois nationalist propaganda has evidently exhausted the reserve of inventions about Soviet reality and about the foreign policy of peace and domestic policies of the CPSU and the Soviet state. That is why reactionary propaganda continues to manipulate myths about "economic and political crises" in the USSR, the existence of "internal opposition," "Soviet military threat," etc. All these concoctions do not match any semblance of reality.

Socialism is inseparable from the struggle to preserve peace. The victory of the proletarian revolution in Russia, according to Vladimir Lenin, became the first step toward eliminating war. The Soviet Union was the

first state to proclaim the struggle for peace and disarmament as its state policy. The leader of the October Revolution said that the termination of wars, establishment of peace among nations, and an end to plundering and coercion was just the ideal of the Soviet Union. This determines the core of the CPSU's foreign policy.

Due to the Soviet Union's initiative, such important treaties were signed in recent years as: the Treaty on banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, outer space and under water; the Treaty on the non-proliferation of anti-missile systems; the Convention on the ban of bacteriological weapons; treaties which ban the deployment of nuclear weapons in outer space, on seabeds and ocean floors, and many others. Recently, the USSR and other Warsaw Treaty countries came out with a number of constructive new proposals directed at the reduction and gradual cessation of the arms race. The results of the Soviet foreign policy are reflected in the successes of international detente and in the increase of cultural exchange and agitation for peace.

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are dreaming of creating a "new, blossoming Ukraine" on the radioactive debris of towns and villages. Especially persistently the self-proclaimed nationalist "liberators" today advocate the neutron bomb — the cruelest type of weapon of mass annihilation.

The nationalists see in the neutron bomb only an "interesting turn to the localization of ...destruction," a "peculiar step forward toward the humanization of war." That was exactly how Banderite leader Ya. Stetsko characterized the neutron bomb in a series of articles published in the magazine *Vizvolny Shlyakh*. In his mind, peoples of Western countries, first and foremost those in the USA, should refuse to try and improve their living standards in order to enable their governments to build up their military strength.

The WCFU bosses intensively cultivate the cult of war among Ukrainians living abroad. The younger generation of emigres are brought up in a spirit of cruelty; the duty to become a "component factor" of aggression against the USSR is imposed on them. They are told of the necessity to fight "chicken-hearted" peace-lovers, of the need to develop in themselves "zoological nationalism" to become prepared like "ravenous beasts" for a struggle for a "place under the sun."

But despite the efforts undertaken by reaction, Ukrainians abroad increasingly realize the hypocrisy of anti-Soviet myths, in part, the concoctions about the Soviet Union's "aggressive character." Thus, one of the nationalist publications, *Notatnyk*, was forced to admit in its article "On the Fronts of the Cold War" that the "Soviet military threat" exists only in the imagination of NATO generals, Western intelligence services and representatives of the military-industrial complex. These myths serve the interests of military-industrial capital. It is, therefore, not accidental, notes the above publication, that the USSR's "aggressive intentions" are more actively talked and written about at a time when the military budgets of capitalist countries are being discussed.

With each passing day, the nationalist proponents of war lose ground; fewer and fewer people in the emigration share their aggressive intentions. The majority of Ukrainians in the West, wrote the newspaper *Zhittya i Slovo* (Canada), hail the "new, refreshing relations in the world," and reject and condemn the policy of bankrupt nationalists directed against peace.

No different from the nationalist commentaries on the international situation is also the "information" carried by the yellow-blue press concerning the situation in the USSR and the present reality of the Soviet Ukrainian people.

The WCFU propaganda machine acts according to the old principle: if facts don't fit their inventions, too bad for the facts.

When "information" about the life of the Soviet Ukrainian people does appear in the reactionary emigre press, material facts are distorted and twisted to such an extent that one cannot find a trace of truth. This is what the above-mentioned *Notatnyk* said about one of the "independence" publications, the newspaper *Svoboda:* "You'll find on the pages of *Svoboda* no systematized and comprehensive information on economic matters, the situation of science and literature in the Ukraine.... The Ukrainian community has probably never had such a bad and dishonest 'independent' newspaper as *Svoboda.* Inaccuracy and ignorance are striking. At every step one comes across various blunders and false assertions."

The only mistake the author made is that he addressed this characterization only to *Svoboda.* These words can be justly referred to any other "liberation" newspaper.

A few years ago the Soviet people discussed the Draft of the new Soviet Constitution which was later adopted by the USSR Supreme Soviet. The working people of the Ukraine adopted a new Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR. These two historic documents embody the people's wisdom and the striving of our country's working people for peace and communism. Responses to the USSR Constitution and the Constitution of the Ukrainian SSR also appeared in the nationalist press. These responses were in the spirit of pathological hatred for the Soviet people, their activities and plans. None of the reactionary commentators wrote about the democratic principles underlying the Soviet organs of power. None mentioned the extensive rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the USSR and those of the Union

republics. None mentioned that such rights are not even formally recorded in the constitutions of any Western country.

On the contrary, one can find numerous "facts" in the anti-Soviet press which are nothing but sheer fabrication. Nationalist periodicals, for example, kept silent about the fact that 140 million people, i. e. more than 90 percent of the country's adult population, took part in the Draft Constitution discussion. But the nationalist publications wrote that there was no nationwide discussion altogether. The Constitutional Commission received 180,000 letters and the majority were published in the press. However, Banderite scribbler Z. Pelensky from Munich "informed" people that the Soviet press, radio and TV, all Soviet people, were "prohibited" from expressing their opinions.

Folk wisdom says: you may lie but don't overdo it. As to the nationalist falsifiers, they recognize neither folk wisdom nor sense of proportion. One can find ludicrous allegations such as the one that, during the last sixty years, the Soviet people "have not made any progress" in the economy, culture and materially. Who can believe the absurd concoction that over the years of people's rule, "not a single literary work, painting, or sculpture of quality has been created?" Or the allegation that the people of Ukraine "walk barefooted, have no clothes and are starving."

The Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists very much like various mathematical exercises designed for simpletons. Once Pelensky decided to create a "sensation" and did it in a manner typical of nationalist propaganda: he fabricated a fact, then commented on it. He wrote that a kilo of potatoes in the Ukraine costs four roubles, and a kilo of tomatoes — eight roubles. The reactionary commentator further launched into meditation: how much of these products can a Soviet worker buy on his

wages, and how he feeds himself in general since there is no bread, meat, milk and butter in the stores — the shelves are empty.

However, the "new mathematics" he invented may be referred to as the highest achievement of this typical nationalist master of misinformation, his "masterpiece." It was used in an attempt to prove that there is inflation in the USSR.

After an introduction that 10,000 dollars in the USA is allegedly a whole fortune, whereas 10,000 roubles in the USSR is a "measure of poverty," the author got down to business. He presented the information of the Ukrainian Statistical Board that, in 1975, the Republic's population had some 2.6 billion roubles in savings accounts and without a second thought presented to readers a "sensation": "A big sum. If it is divided by Ukraine's 50 million population, by every elderly person, man and woman, all children, each will have 52,000 roubles in 'savings'. And a family of four — 208,000 roubles." (?) We submit that Mr. Pelensky had problems doing division since he left school, for 2.6 billion roubles divided by 50 million people gives 52 roubles, and not 52,000. But why should he make policy on such an "intellectual" level. It's small wonder, though, because his "mathematics" is nationalist.

Ukrainians living abroad are losing the last remains of trust in the slogans of their "liberators." This is borne out by the fact that fewer and fewer people are taking part in anti-Soviet demonstrations, in pickets of Soviet missions abroad, hunger strikes or moneyraising campaigns on the occasion of invented "jubilees" and in other provocative undertakings. *Svoboda* newspaper noted in August, 1976, that "mass demonstrations," as a rule, have flopped in recent times; mostly, they are "few in numbers, unimposing and do not achieve their goal."

As a matter of fact, Ukrainians abroad, the Banderite *Shlyakh Peremohy* lamented, "do not see any reason" why they should participate in such campaigns. The one or two dozen people who sometimes appear in anti-Soviet gatherings in no way refute the true fact that "hundreds of thousands are indifferent and keep aloof."

Today the USSR is winning more and more friends abroad. The well-known English writer, James Aldridge wrote that they, abroad, lived through the sufferings of Soviet people, although they, abroad, didn't shed blood, lose children and perish and starve to the same extent Soviet people did. But they were always ready to repulse every new blow against the USSR, to rejoice when a new hope would appear, to enthusiastically welcome every new victory of the Soviet Union.

The writer said that he recently had re-read several books written after the Revolution containing, in some cases, sympathy for the Soviet Land and, in others, hostility against it. As to those directed against the USSR, he said, they were now literary dust.

This same lot — complete oblivion — awaits present-day politicos from the WCFU camp, those who, in return for Judas' money will not hesitate to slander even their own mothers.

PSEUDO-PATRIOTS

For some time, the "free Ukrainian press" has actively spread the myth about the "patriotism" of the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists for those countries where they have found shelter.

But let us take a closer look, as they say, at "the American, Canadian, French and other patriotisms" of Messrs Dobryansky, Yuzyk and other chieftains of the nationalist cabal.

The United States of America, the richest capitalist country, has the highest level of unemployment, as well as entire poverty-ridden regions. Even the bourgeois press is sometimes forced to write about the dire situation of millions of jobless with some sympathy. Only the Ukrainian "patriotic" newspapers unequivocally and always don the role of defenders of ...the monopolies which those millions of poor jobless simply plunder. One such hackneyed publication — the ODFFU magazine (Herald of the Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine) — hypocritically pretending to "defend the interests of the American people," sharply protested against granting that aid to the unemployed which they receive. The Banderite author called this "aid" a "waste of public money" and complained that this "undermines the country's economy." No need to prove whose interests "democrats" from the ODFFU Herald worry about. They do not stop at the malicious slander of millions of unfortunate Americans who hardly make ends meet on "social welfare". They are accused of laziness, of immoral conduct, violations of ethics and other such things. The magazine calls on the public to protest and demand that the President and Congress abandon that aid. If it were within the power of the nationalists, they would doom millions of people to death by starvation.

The frequently practiced discrimination against Blacks, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, Native people and other ethnic minorities is an equally sore problem facing American society. The previously mentioned newspaper, *Svoboda*, defended the unlimited use of discriminatory practices, since equality of those national minorities, according to them, contradicts the interests of American Ukrainians who allegedly are better educated and have a higher professional level. The aim of "democratic" *Svoboda* is to oppose Ukrainians to other

ethnic minorities, to foment strife amongst them and to undermine unity in the struggle for their common interests.

The animosity of Ukrainian nationalists to the people of their countries of residence is manifested especially vividly during elections, particularly in the USA, Canada, the FRG and Great Britain. At such times, all the nationalist press urges Ukrainian electors to vote for the most conservative candidates. It is on extreme reaction that the WCFU leaders pin not only their future, but hopes for "liberating" the Ukraine. They are most afraid lest people come to power in their countries of residence who are well disposed to international detente and the development of economic cooperation with the socialist countries. *Svoboda* had this to say about such a situation: "We American citizens of Ukrainian origin (they speak for all! — E. K.) would like to have a President who would take a negative, or at least vigilant stand, on the policy of detente, a statesman who wouldn't fear to act in matters unpleasant to the Kremlin and who wouldn't fear accusations that the USA interferes in the internal affairs of the USSR."

One of the editorials in *Svoboda*, having the eloquent title of "The World Needs a Gendarme..." attests to the "patriotism" of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. The newspaper moralized: "One shouldn't be afraid of such a role and avoid such a name, for it must be exactly that: this is an honorary role for America..."

The development of mutually advantageous economic contacts and trade between Western countries and the Soviet Union evoke special anger from the WCFU bosses. In evaluating this cooperation again as "one-sided concessions to the Soviets," they demand to protest, "not to sit idling." And not a word is spoken about the fact that trade and Soviet industrial orders provide jobs and bread to thousands and thousands of the unem-

ployed in the West, including Ukrainian workers. The main thing for Messrs Dobryansky, Lysohir and Vovchuk is to reverse, in the West, policy and public opinion toward cold war and confrontation with the Soviet Union.

Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist publications like to pose as advocates of justice and humaneness, and extensively employ this propaganda trick to poison public opinion in their countries of residence. At the same time, the nationalist "lovers of the people" feel no sympathy for the Chilean people who are bleeding to death under the dictatorship of the fascist murderer Pinochet, for the people of Palestine who are fighting against genocide, for the people of Namibia where white mercenaries perpetrate cruel terror, for the people of South Africa who languish under the yoke of racists, and for many others. More than that, the WCFU leaders declared Pinochet almost the messiah of the Chilean people and racist regimes in South Africa and their like as the best solution for the social and national problems of Africa's Black population.

In their turn, such "democrats" as Pinochet in Chile, Stressner in Paraguay, previously Park Chung Hee in South Korea, and Franco in Spain and Salazar in Portugal, and others, willingly demonstrated their affection for the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists. The first days after the fascist coup in Chile, certain Ukrainian anti-Soviet publications in the USA, Canada, West Germany and Britain published large streamers: "Bravo, General Pinochet!" Shortly after that, the nationalist chieftains appeared in the Chilean capital to personally express their recognition of the murderous general. The vicious dictator promised the nationalists his support in "liberating the Ukraine."

The progressive public and working people in the USA, Canada and other Western countries are stepping

up their struggles for human and social rights. Meanwhile, Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist propaganda is clamoring about "excessive democracy" in the West, demanding the intensification of police powers, the harshest persecution of fighters for peace, strikers and all those who show the least dissatisfaction with the existing order. Thus, the nationalist newspaper *Vilne Slovo* (Free Word) of June 4, 1978 criticized U.S. President Jimmy Carter for his "leniency" in dealing with the months-long strike of American miners.

People of good will all over the world are indignant at the interference of the U. S. Central Intelligence Agency in the internal affairs of many sovereign states, and at violations by this espionage agency of the American people's rights. Nevertheless, the Ukrainian nationalists continue to advocate this nest of conspiracies and provocations. Dearer than a mother for them is also the internal political organ of investigation in the USA — the Federal Bureau of Investigation. This agency cultivates in the country a regime of total shadowing of citizens, eavesdropping, keeping dossiers on all "suspects," practices insiduous murders of political adversaries of the regime, activists of workers organizations, fighters for peace, for equality of white and colored citizens. The sympathy shown by the WCFU is quite natural, as it itself was formed by secret services and carries out their assignments.

One of the Melnykite leaders, Denis Kwitkowsky (now deceased), on the pages of *Samostiina Ukraina*, a nationalist magazine, denied the need of civil rights for the American people, in part, the freedom of speech. He advocated terror as a means of struggle against political opponents. This idea was supported by Ivan Kedrin, one of the leaders of the Ukrainian National Rada (council) when he defended the FBI from "unjust attacks." Another nationalist R. Holiyat demanded strict

censorship and limited freedom of the press in the USA. The nationalist press often publishes attacks on trade unions in Western countries which stand up for workers' rights.

A whole string of other, similar facts could be cited. We hope that the above is quite sufficient to show everyone what sort of "patriots" and "democrats" the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists are.

AFRAID OF CULTURAL RELATIONS

"Do you have an extra ticket?" This question can be heard, as a rule, in the USA, Canada or France near concert halls where Soviet Ukrainian artists perform.

Artists from the Ukraine do a good and useful job for the emigration by helping their compatriots abroad, especially young people, preserve a love for Ukrainian culture, language, and national customs. More and more foreign artists of Ukrainian parentage and artistic groups visit the Ukraine, as well as maintain contacts with envoys of Soviet culture abroad.

The stand taken by the emigration toward cultural relations with Soviet Ukraine is a question which discloses grave differences among the bosses of anti-Soviet groupings, including the WCFU, and the rest of Ukrainians abroad. At a time when a yearning for modern Ukrainian culture and art and for closer acquaintance with the life of the Ukrainian people is growing with each year amongst the masses of the emigres, the bourgeois nationalist emigration, according to Peter Krawchuk's apt definition, robs their children and grandchildren. The malicious attacks of the "liberators" against the emigration's cultural ties with Soviet Ukraine, the prohibition of members of nationalist organi-

zations to make tourist trips to the USSR, to visit concerts by Ukrainian artists abroad, to communicate with citizens of the Ukrainian SSR — all this is directed, above all, against the younger generation of emigres whom the false patriots from the "liberators'" camp are attempting to tear away from Ukrainian culture, language and traditions.

Several months before the Second WCFU Congress began, nearly all the nationalist press published an appeal by Metropolitan Mstyslav to all Orthodox believers abroad. In this appeal, the former Petlurite colonel frantically stated that, despite all interdictions, Ukrainian emigres, including also many clergymen, go to Ukraine without the consent of their "spiritual superiors."

The Metropolitan decided to resort to threats to check the mounting stream of "unwarranted" trips to the Ukrainian land. The author of the appeal didn't conceal the fact that he was scared most of all by the fact that cultural relations bring to Ukrainians abroad the truth about the life of the Ukrainian people and, in this way, lay bare the lies of reactionary propaganda. Mstyslav pronounced anathema against all Ukrainians who visit the Soviet Union.

With the normalization of the international political climate, cold war propagandists, including the WCFU bosses, did not cease attempts to hinder the development of cooperation among nations.

On the eve of the Second WCFU Congress, the AUUC National Executive Committee wrote: "At a time when they (leaders of the WCFU — E. K.) call the Ukraine a closed society, they come out against a program of trade relations, cultural exchanges and tourism between the countries of the West and the Soviet Union. They stage senseless and small demonstrations to humiliate and abuse artists and cultural groups from the Ukraine

and the USSR, organize a campaign with the aim of dissuading, through lies and intimidation, members of organizations and church parishes from going to the Ukraine as tourists.... They are concerned with only one freedom — the freedom to act in the spirit of the cold war."

The influence of Soviet reality on the Ukrainian emigration instills fear in the Banderite-Melnykite top leadership. They well realize that, after returning from the Ukraine, a tourist begins to look differently at life around him, and to critically speak out about the bosses of reactionary emigre groupings. This presents a "direct threat to the liberation policy." In this lies the reason for the clamorous campaign against cultural contacts.

The leaders of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist centers, in particular the WCFU, recognize only those "cultural" contacts which help carry out ideological sabotage against the USSR. Proof of this are Ya. Dobosh and A. Klimchuk. As OUNite Ya. Haivas wrote, in these attempts the nationalists will not eschew even the method of the "pistol and bomb."

In recent years, the nationalist press published a number of instructions and "advice" for tourists of Ukrainian descent on how to illegally import into the USSR and disseminate anti-Soviet literature, paint provocative slogans on house walls, sabotage Intourist programs and provoke its personnel, etc.

Fighting against cultural contacts, leaders of the WCFU declare that these contacts and influences are allegedly one-sided and that they are good only for the Soviet side. Apart from the WCFU itself, similar pronouncements were expressed by its component organizations such as the Ukrainian National Federation, Ukrainian Canadian Committee, Ukrainian Congress Committee of America, Organization for the Defense of Four Freedoms for Ukraine and the Union of Ukrainian Youth

(SUM). Contrary to the interests of the emigration, they demand a boycott of concerts by Soviet artists abroad, and blackmail and virulent attacks of foreign amateur artists of Ukrainian background for their contacts with the Ukraine.

What a contrast to these hostile actions are the measures being taken by the Soviet Union toward the implementation of all the points of the Helsinki Conference Final Act, including those which deal with the further development of cultural contacts!

The Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad (Ukraina Society) is making a sizeable contribution to the important matter of establishing cultural contacts. This activity found its reflection in the Appeal of the Society Plenary Meeting participants (April 1977) "To People of Good Will Among the Emigration from Ukraine".

Addressing Ukrainians abroad the Plenary Meeting stated, in part: "We are for such meetings and contacts, for communication between people from various countries, for cultural and other friendly relations. We believe that most of you think the same in relation to this. The Ukraina Society (Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad) will continue to do its utmost to maximally satisfy the cultural needs and requests of Ukrainians abroad who cherish peace and friendship among nations..."

The same position was confirmed in a resolution of the Third Conference of the Association for Cultural Relations with Ukrainians Abroad (Ukraina Society) in March of 1980. In part, this document reads: "We the participants of this Third Conference of the Ukraina Society consider that cultural exchanges serve the best human ideals, just as they promote mutual trust and friendship among people on all continents and cultivate unity among all people of good will. Therefore, we voice

our opinion with the greatest determination in declaring that the borders separating different countries are not to be crossed by nuclear missiles but by extensive pathways of fruitful cooperation."

The Soviet Union maintains cultural relations with 120 countries. Each year, approximately 180 Soviet artistic ensembles and groups go on tours abroad, and the USSR hosts close to 150 foreign ensembles and groups which give some 6,000 concerts. Ukrainian cities occupy a prominent place in the list of tours by artists from other countries.

In recent years alone, the Soviet Union was successfully toured by the opera company from Milan's La Scala, the London Symphony and Stuttgart Chamber orchestras, drama troupes from San Francisco and Hamburg. The Roy Clark Show from the USA, Cliff Richard, the Dooley Family Ensemble from Great Britain and the James Last Orchestra from the FRG gave concerts. The Jeoffrey Ballet, the New York Jazz Orchestra, the Country Music Show and many soloists, etc., from the USA made concert tours of the Soviet Union.

Productions of 129 works by modern Western authors (not counting classics) are staged in Soviet theaters, including Ukrainian theaters. Yet, plays by contemporary Soviet authors are almost never staged in the West. As far as is known, only two plays — Chinghiz Aitmatov's *Ascent of Fujiyama* and M. Roshchin's *Valentin and Valentina* — have been produced in the USA.

Similar examples could also be cited in other fields of cultural exchange between Western countries and the Soviet Union. Following World War II, the USSR has put out by the millions over 15,000 books by American, French, British and West German authors. The USA, France, Great Britain and the FRG released some 2,500 titles by Soviet writers and in miserably small editions, at that.

In order to divert the attention of the world public from these serious facts about the incompatibility of Western policy with the spirit of the Helsinki Conference, imperialist, including bourgeois nationalist, propaganda raised a ballyhoo about the "one-sided" character of cultural exchanges. However, facts show that if this "one-sided" character does exist, it exists from the other side.

The desire of Ukrainians abroad, especially young people, for the extension of cultural contacts is stronger than the bans, inventions and various pieces of "advice" by nationalist leaders.

During the last few years alone, the Ukraine was visited by thousands upon thousands of tourists of Ukrainian extraction, by the Zaporozhtsi Dance Ensemble from the French town of Chalette, the Leontovich Choir from the USA, the Kobzar and Rusalka dance ensembles and the Olexander Koshetz Choir from Canada, and by dozens of artistic groups from abroad. In their turn, on the initiation of our friends in other countries, well-known Soviet Ukrainian artists and artistic collectives perform every year at various arts festivals in the USA and Canada.

Artistic directors of Republican choirs and dance collectives sincerely help foreign amateur artists of Ukrainian origin raise their performing skills. There are also many other forms of cultural contacts. Isn't this beneficial to Ukrainians abroad? Is there any one-sidedness here?

The newspaper *Ukrainske Zhittya* wrote: "Without active connections, without lively mass contacts by our children, grand- and even great grandchildren with our ancestral land, we shall not be able to hold back the assimilation of our youth in our new countries of residence."

Here are some of the views of Ukrainian intellectuals abroad.

Ostap Kociuba, New York City, Slavic linguist:

"We should give credit to people like Virsky and Veriovka, who study, preserve and propagate Ukrainian culture.... We should not discourage these people by demonstrating against them."

Martha Bohachevsky-Chomiak, Vienna, professor of history:

"I oppose boycotts of cultural events."

Roman Dubenko, Philadelphia, college student:

"We should attend these performances.... So let's attend, enjoy and learn."

Leonid Rudnitzkyj, Philadelphia, professor of literature:

"Cultural exchanges are necessary for both sides. They're an opportunity for Ukrainians to become more well-known internationally. They also help maintain ethnic pride: any emigration needs cultural ties with the motherland. For the most part, boycotts of legitimate cultural events are nonsense.... It's a crime to boycott someone like Rudenko: here's a chance to show the world another side of our culture — that it's not just Easter eggs, embroidery and 'hopak.' "

And so, even though the WCFU bosses continue to mask themselves as supporting the interests of the working people in the emigration, these characters are actually this emigration's worst enemies. They are doing their utmost so as to tear Ukrainians living beyond their mother country away from the latter's culture, history and traditions. The WCFU upper echelons are pathologically scared of the truth, because the top Congress leaders are only too well aware that any cultural exchanges between their emigres and the Ukraine of today will deal excruciating blows to nationalist propaganda which is persistent in twisting facts about the

real situation of the Ukrainian people, and in falsifying and slandering this information.

For a number of years the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalists have fought cultural exchanges and the development of bilateral tourism, but to no avail. The Banderite weekly *Homin Ukrainy* (Canada) wrote in a fit of irritation (September 1978) that the trips of emigres to the Ukraine, tours by Soviet Ukrainian performers abroad and other types of contacts are continuing on an even bigger scale than before. Neither the OUN's repeated "warnings," nor the strict bans on trips to the Ukraine in the appeal of Metropolitan Mstyslav, nor the relevant resolutions of nationalist associations and centers have brought the expected results, the newspaper complained.

The WCFU upper echelons see in these cultural ties and tourist exchanges a threat to their reactionary ideas and politicking. At the same time, they couldn't care less for the interests of the emigre masses. That same *Homin Ukrainy* wrote: "The educational results of these trips are seen in the ideological and political demobilization of groups influenced by these 'travellers'.... What kind of liberation or anti-Soviet activity can one expect from someone who has visited the Soviet Union at least four times?"

Cultural exchanges and tourist trips to the Ukrainian SSR have recently been severely attacked by the OUN Melnyk group, currently headed by recent WCFU President M. Plawiuk. The reason for their fear of contacts — and this is, incidentally, common to all WCFU bosses — is explained by the magazine *Samostiina Ukraina:* "People began to travel, so what was to be expected in the end? On their return, they are quite often very reserved and less and less frequently seen at Ukrainian national functions, and never at anti-Bolshevik demonstrations. They started to advocate the de-

politicization of Ukrainian life and returning to the promotion of nothing else but culture."

However, a closer look at the many complaints of nationalist authors about the growing "leftism" in Ukrainian emigres and their "withdrawal" from the anti-Soviet politicking of the "independents" allegedly as a result of cultural contacts alone reveals the attempt to conceal the political bankruptcy of the WCFU elite, and their fear of truth about life in the Ukraine today and the anger and irritation of the "independents" at the unprecedented accomplishments of the Ukraine in all areas. They loath everything coming from the Soviet Ukraine.

The Ukrainian News of the UAL (Ukrainian-American League), which actively promotes cultural ties and supports peace and international security, carried an article entitled "What Are They Afraid Of?" It points out that the nationalist appeals for isolation and a boycott of tourist trips to the Ukraine and the campaign for distorting facts and realities are the laments of a bankrupt who is scared to death by the ghastly thought that he himself may become isolated from the society of the living.

The nationalists themselves confirm the validity of this view. *Ukrainske Slovo* recently published an alarming article whose title couldn't have been better selected: "Ringing the Alarm." It is saturated with pathological hatred of Soviet Ukrainian writers and performers touring abroad, and of all the cultural accomplishments of the Ukrainian people. The holding of Ukrainian art exhibitions, Ukrainian concert tours, the unveiling of the monument to Taras Shevchenko — a gift from the Ukraine — in France supported by local authorities and French progressives are regarded by the Melnyk author as a "sad and bitter reality, at the sight of which one must sound the alarm." So far as this WCFU

Melnyk advocate is concerned, cultural emigre contacts with the Ukraine are the fire which is consuming without a trace the last hopes of the "independents" of ever winning the confidence of Ukrainians living abroad."

In 1978, on the day the monument to the great Ukrainian poet Taras Shevchenko was unveiled in Paris, a group of WCFU people staged a "demonstration of protest." It was a complete and bitter failure, even though the former Nazi lackey Mstyslav (Skrypnyk) also took part. The Ukrainian French in Paris sincerely welcomed the monument to the Kobzar on French soil, thus saying their decisive "no" to the nationalist boycott of cultural exchanges. Most "independent" periodicals responded by quoting the foul language of WCFU functionaries who were very disturbed by these events and decided to lambast to the French government, the City Hall of Paris, and the Ukrainian French.

Just as at the previous Congress, a special appeal against cultural contacts between the emigres and the Ukrainian SSR was made by S. Stebelsky, Chairman of WCFU's Council for Cultural Matters. His speeches at WCFU-II and III were almost identical. This time, he declared: "We are calling on Ukrainian cultural figures to defend the Ukrainian community in the free world against... the so-called 'cultural exchanges'..., because these exchanges are the unilateral infiltration of Soviet culture into the Ukrainian diaspora, because they... demoralize the Ukrainian independent camp in the world."

A few words about the Stebelsky-headed Council. Nationalists themselves admit that, in the period between WCFU-II and III, this organization did nothing, as it hadn't done anything before; the WCFU leaders had too many other things on their mind — primarily, anti-Soviet politicking — to occupy themselves with any

cultural matters. An interesting detail. During WCFU-III, delegates asked why the Secretariat hadn't allocated any money for the development of Ukrainian culture in the diaspora. Plawiuk declined to comment.

In its struggle against cultural exchanges, the WCFU elite tries to exploit the new Law on Citizenship of the USSR. Quite groundlessly, it claims that this law is aimed against emigres. No, gentlemen! It isn't Soviet law but the WCFU scandalous politicking that *is* to the detriment of the emigration. No slandering or insinuating will ever help you refute this truth!

The absurdity of the reasons the WCFU upper echelons employ to combat cultural exchanges is apparent in other cases as well. On March 10, 1979, *The New Pathway* wrote that the purpose of the United States tour of Ukrainian poet Ivan Drach and his public appearances was to sound out the emigres' attitude to the USSR in the event of a Sino-Soviet conflict.

The editors of the Canadian weekly *Vilnty Svit* consider that even if there is absolutely no way of severing cultural exchanges, the "independents" should do all they can to brainwash tourists going to the USSR, so they won't believe what they will see with their own eyes in Soviet cities and villages, and won't want to acquaint themselves any closer with life in the Ukraine today.

However, no bullying, blackmailing, preposterous claims, manipulating fabricated arguments or brainwashing tourists travelling to the USSR will ever stop cultural exchanges. These are a process which is irreversible, as is the aspiration for mutual understanding, friendship and peace. It is only natural, therefore, that all attempts by these enemies of the emigres to stop cultural exchanges and tourist trips have been futile.

Even some of the boycott supporters have increasingly often conceded of late that it is impossible to halt

the impetuous progress of cultural ties and tourism. One of them, Yu. Movchan (mentioned previously) had to admit in his anti-exchange lampoon filled with slander against the Ukrainian people: "It would be probably hard to find a single Ukrainian in emigration who, having left some relatives in the Ukraine, would not want to meet them again."

Thus, there is no unanimity among the nationalists on the problems of contacts in general. The "independent" weekly *Ukrainski Visti* (currently based in Detroit) supported the necessity of cultural exchanges for the emigres, noting that tourism and other forms of contacts serve to slow down the "melting together of the ethnic masses" and provide a "stimulating effect, bringing back to national life those who are almost completely assimilated."

As for the emigre masses, they have long had no doubts about the question of whether to travel or not to travel to the Ukraine. They solidly support cultural contacts. They travel and are always happy to receive guests from the Ukraine in the United States, Canada, France and elsewhere. V. Kucheriavy wrote in *Ukrainski Visti* that back in the 1940s, only some Americans here and there who had more courage began to visit the Soviet Union as tourists. At present, visits are made not only by those born there, but also by emigres representing the second, third and even fourth generation. Tourists travel and return en masse, telling about the good life their brothers and sisters enjoy and refuting the shameless nationalist lies.

People of Ukrainian descent living outside the Soviet Union regard contacts with the Ukrainian SSR as an opportunity to get an idea of Soviet reality, to improve their command of the Ukrainian language, to improve their artistic or other skills and to partake of the Ukraine's cultural accomplishments. As for those

fighting against these exchanges, they place themselves in opposition to most Ukrainians abroad, thus confining themselves to a kind of ghetto — another sign of their ultimate doom.

ON WHOSE BEHALF DOES THE WCFU ACT?

Hopelessness and disillusionment amid the rank-and-file members of nationalist ogranizations, loss of popularity by their leaders — such is the principal characteristic of the present existence of the "independent" centers. Even though the nationalist press screams about "patriotism," "loyalty of conscious Ukrainians to liberation" and so on, more and more emigres are leaving the nationalist organizations, and openly expressing their indignation at the political intrigues and adventurism of the bosses of the "liberation" centers and groupings, at the self-seeking and fraud prevailing among the self-styled "fathers of the people." This is quite a natural reaction to the provocative, anti-popular activities of the leadership of the Ukrainian counterrevolution abroad.

The irrefutable successes achieved by Soviet Ukraine in the development of her economy, science, culture and public education, in improving the people's well-being, make some nationalists and certain groups of sober-minded persons take a more realistic stand about Soviet life, to more correctly assess the aims and results of the activities of nationalist centers, including the WCFU. They begin to realize that, as *Ukrainske Zhittya* noted, they should "substitute empty declarations about a struggle for liberation, and to turn to actual and useful social and public work among themselves, that is, with the emigration," because "revolution coming from emigration is an unreal enterprise. The emigration's struggle to liberate the Ukraine must be revised, since

the emigration has neither internal, nor external real prerequisites for this struggle." This idea is quite correct. We should only add that here are actually none and cannot be any such "prerequisites," because the Ukrainian people once and forever chose their own road.

The "independence" press itself convincingly attests to the ripening of realistic trends in the attitudes of emigre youth. *Novi Perspektivy* (New Perspectives) — the youth supplement to the Melnykite newspaper *Noviy Shlyakh* — recently quite categorically set the Ukrainian youth abroad apart from the nationalist "establishment": "Their ideals and aims," it wrote, "are not the ideals and aims of the second and third generations of Ukrainians" living abroad, "we neither sympathize with, nor want to participate in the archaic and senseless struggle between the old country's political groups and factions which lack realism and consistency."

Nearly every nationalist publication anxiously writes about the indifference of the youth, or rather, young people's unwillingness to take part in the struggle for the "ideals" of the older generation. *Homin Ukrainy* admitted: "Some youth organizations stand aside from nationalism, and certain leading members of youth movements... publicly and intentionally do not declare themselves nationalists." Quite a number of authors justly note that nationalism has long "compromised itself in the eyes of the world as the basis of fascism." That is why, as another emigre newspaper states, the Ukrainian youth abroad, particularly students, "are ashamed of their roots of nationalism." This thought is not only supported by certain authors, but is reflected in reports and resolutions of congresses held by youth organizations within the WCFU. The congress held by the so-called Central Conference of Ukrainian Students, held just prior to WCFU-III, noted that some young people "not so much cannot, but simply do not want

to take over their fathers' cause"; the youth let out "terrible criticism of the entire Ukrainian social and political life, to the effect that it has done nothing worthy until now"; "many of those present (at the congress) forecast death for all political parties (in emigration) in view of their inaction and even ideological bankruptcy."

Among Ukrainian youth abroad, only an insignificant part belongs to reactionary youth organizations; according to the press, here too, one can frequently see a sharply negative attitude to bourgeois ideology in general, and to Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism, in particular. Criticism of racism and fascism is becoming popular, youth no longer believes concoctions about the "absence of democracy" in socialist society, about the "colonial status of the Ukraine" and so on.

The conflict between generations among the Ukrainian nationalist emigration has deepened to such an extent that it evokes apprehension among the leaders of reactionary groupings that the "independent" organizations may soon remain without reserves at all. Oksana Romanishin, member of the women's council of the so-called League for the Liberation of the Ukraine (part of the WCFU), wrote quite openly about this. She noted that the majority of Ukrainian emigres' children have completely assimilated and are quite indifferent and often alien to nationalist problems and appeals. Next in number is the politically and ideologically "neutral" youth. This is followed by another group — young men and women who adhere to progressive tendencies in the development of the Ukrainian emigration. Finally, the "smallest" group are "conscious, active Ukrainians" who take part in anti-Soviet initiatives organized by bosses from the "liberation" camp.

It is the unanimous opinion of the bourgeois nationalist leadership that instilling anti-Soviet ideas in the

younger generation and keeping it influenced by reactionary groups, while committing young people to "liberation" activities, is the most urgent problem facing the counterrevolutionary emigration. The nationalist elite is only too well aware that its future depends on solving it successfully.

The WCFU chiefs are doing all they possibly can to counter the process of assimilation of the younger Ukrainian generation and its withdrawal from the "liberation struggle" by intensifying nationalist upbringing. There has been a noticeable increase recently in the number of nationalist communities which indoctrinate these people under the guise of study courses, Ukrainian language schools, rest camps, educational establishments and "scientific" institutes and all kinds of "theoretical" conferences, meetings, etc. This, however, does not bring the nationalists their very desired results.

Following WCFU-III, Ukrainian bourgeois propaganda expounded on the "bright and dark spots" of this "world" nationalist gathering. As for the "bright spots," every unbiased Ukrainian abroad can understand exactly what the Congress organizers and leaders counted as their "accomplishments," that they are always directed toward pouring even more fat on the fire of anti-Soviet hysteria among Ukrainian emigres and the general public in the country of residence, and getting them involved in "liberation" actions that are morally dubious and in practice adventuresome. Speaking of the "dark spots," some of them deserve a closer look.

There was a problem raised during WCFU-III which, even though kept comparatively out of the limelight, cost both the organizers and the backstage inspirers of this gathering perhaps the worst headache. It can be best summed up in these words: "Woe is me! Where are our young people? Where is our future?" The na-

tionalists themselves called it an "alarm" which rang out in almost every phrase spoken during WCFU-III by O. Koval, the "Führer" of the young Banderites. Among other things, he admitted that only some 4 per cent of the younger Ukrainian generation abroad are "activists" (i. e., those involved in this or other form of organized nationalist life). Objectively, however, even this percentage is exaggerated. Besides, not everyone involved in or with nationalist youth organizations displays that much activity. The rest simply want nothing to do with the adventuresome politicking of the nationalist "fathers of the people" and steer well away from their organization's overseers. (Incidentally, Koval's speech at WCFU-III was called "The Problem of Committing Ukrainian Youth to Ukrainian Life.") In other words, the nationalists do acknowledge the fact that their younger counterparts are not committed to the activity of their centers, and that the "independent" bosses must consider their priority task as procuring the manpower reserve for their anti-popular groups and centers via hypocritical slogans about the "struggle for the liberation of the Ukraine" and "for the rights of the Ukrainian people," as well as via a carefully developed system of treacherous ideological and political brainwashing of the younger generation. As for themselves, the nationalist brass hats are concerned with thus ensuring themselves a reasonable degree of prosperity.

Koval sheds many tears over the fact that throughout the West, young Ukrainian men and women "find themselves disappointed by and avoid participating in the functioning (youth) cells (i. e., organizations)," and that their "leftism penetrates all sections of life, saturating it with dissenting trends which, at times, acquire forms that imply the overthrow of the Establishment," etc. Naturally, what worries Koval and his

nationalist colleagues the most is the growing desire of young people to "overthrow the Establishment" and their declining belief in an "independent" Ukraine and its self-styled leadership, which is so widely much publicized by the nationalists, because these phenomena, expressed with sufficient intent, equal a death sentence to Koval and his ilk.

This nationalist speaker blurted out a very important nationalist "secret" when he mentioned that Ukrainian youth were constantly critical of nationalist ideology. The way a bull attacks a piece of red cloth, he pounced on philosophical materialism, internationalism and democracy because, in his words, they are the essential features of the world outlook of many young Ukrainians abroad.

Koval's revelations directly contradict the allegations of the WCFU bosses that there is a certain "acivization of liberation war efforts among young Ukrainians abroad" and the "dedication of the younger generation to the idea of independence for the Ukraine." His frankness sheds blinding light on the true objectives of characters like himself, Bazarko, Plawiuk, etc., showing beyond any reasonable doubt that the days of these nationalist obscurantists are numbered.

Koval, the "enlightener" of SUM youngsters, has been described as follows by former Banderite S. Dzhugalo, who is well versed in the situation within OUN: "He is one of those types who cripple the souls of young Ukrainian emigres, stupefying them with nationalist phraseology, making young men and women enemies of the Ukrainian people, turning them into obedient tools of the OUN chiefs, used by these leaders not only to pay their masters the worth of their bread, but also to earn enough to have a good chunk sliced off for themselves of that tasty yet profanely baked loaf."

As to Koval's academic background — or, rather, the

absence of it — *Ukrainske Zhittya* (Chicago) wrote in January of 1979 that SUM's leader "makes most elementary spelling and lexic mistakes, let alone his syntax, because it is not likely that he has ever taken any opportunity to broach this 'syntactic science.' Hence the trouble once aptly described by a bard who said that 'woe the tailor who undertakes to bake good cakes....'"

For the WCFU bosses, the "youth problem" is, first of all, the riddle of how to get all the young people involved in ultra-right pro-Nazi associations, how to subject them to proper brainwashing to make the younger generation ready to "sacrifice itself" for the sake of the absurd "liberation." Today, as in the past, the Ukrainian nationalists attempt to train their boys and girls as future unthinking killer robots. They gather them in all kinds of "recreation camps" where the youngsters' minds are poisoned with the doctrines of militarism and Nazism.

A very frank statement was made on this subject by the Bandera OUN leader Yaroslav Stetsko in the magazine *Vizvolniy Shlyakh* (No. 2, 1978): "Militarizing our youth, instilling in them the military spirit, the spirit of discipline, strictness, order, obedience, respect for their elders and strict observance of customs will always be instrumental in the process of upbringing. Our youth must have military service on a compulsory basis."

The youth theme was touched upon during WCFU-III in yet another report, that by R. Vzhesnevsky. He expressed his profound regret that young Ukrainian emigres, even those belonging to certain organizations, "are declining in both quantity and quality." He was extremely critical of the nationalist "pseudo-leaders" who extensively use demagoguery and deception for their own ends. "Our youth," said he, "have neither example to follow, nor what they could have normally enjoyed

at home — books, theater performances and all the other things one benefits from one's own culture. These people are confined to meager portions of it only, because of poor command of their mother tongue, *because of glaring differences in what their parents liked and what their children prefer now..., as a result of all this, their activity is reduced to a minimum and their role is insignificant.*" (Stressed in the original text.)

The fact that the WCFU elite attaches great importance to intensifying the indoctrination of young Ukrainians and winning an even greater number of them to their side can be seen from the agenda of WCFU-III, as well as from problems discussed at quite a few recent nationalist gatherings. Bandera's SUM, for example, held a congress shortly before WCFU-III at which Koval also spoke, placing special emphasis on the need of getting young Ukrainians abroad interested in the endeavours of the emigre "political" sector, and thus deterring the "infiltration of hostile conceptions" in the emigre milieu.

Another nationalist assembly prior to WCFU-III was a congress of the so-called Ukrainian Liberation Front. Its delegates also concentrated on finding better ways of influencing the younger emigration and of corrupting it morally, ideologically and politically. The congress appealed to the members of other OUN groups, warning them against letting Ukrainian youth abroad "fall prey to leftism."

Modern nationalist publications more often than not come out with pessimistic judgments about the role of Ukrainian youth in the "liberation" politicking of the reactionary emigre leadership. This topic has been dealt with again and again by "party observers" like I. Kedrin, A. Kabaida, A. Bedriy, H. Waskowich, Ya. Deremenda, A. Lozinsky and many others. Their main idea is that ideological work with the younger genera-

tion should be given priority rather than any general education or entertainment programs. The SUM conference in England made it plain that the future of the reactionary emigration would depend not on those who could sing or dance well but — and exclusively — on those with the strongest foundation of national (i. e., nationalist — E. K.) knowledge and consciousness.

Characteristically, the leaders of "independent" organizations who are trying to extend their influence on their younger compatriots abroad are unable to mask their actual purposes. In their appeals to young Ukrainians abroad, they less and less often mention their "liberation mission" (although, of course, it is precisely this mission that they want to train them for). Instead, they increasingly often underline the necessity of "defending human rights," struggling for "generally human democratic values," believing that the younger generation will swallow this "politicized" bait. The WCFU politicos more and more frequently shift their attention to Ukrainian students who, due to their lack of political and life experience, are unable to recognize what their "teachers" are really after. The church, the so-called "native schools" and all the courses are involving themselves with growing persistence in the vile business of brainwashing and corrupting Ukrainian emigre children.

Still, the efforts of the WCFU rulers and of other nationalist groups do not always yield the expected results. Involuntary confessions that this particular activity is not effective are every so often found even on the pages of reactionary emigre publications. After WCFU-III, for example, the Uniate *America* (Philadelphia) wrote: "Our young fellows, either embittered by the educational program or incited by the ever vigilant leftists, become Marxists who decry nationalism and say that their patriotic fathers are Nazis."

This excerpt explains why WCFU-III turned into a battlefield on which the envoys of the youth organizations clashed violently with the remainder of the delegates. The younger participants in the Congress were opposed to the role the WCFU bosses forced them into. These young men and women did not want to remain obedient tools in the hands of political crooks, just as they refused to assume the functions of adventuresome spies which the WCFU elite also prescribes for them. The scandalous exposures of OUN-trained agents such as Dobosh from Belgium and Klimchuk from England who were caught red-handed in the Ukraine have taught young emigres a good lesson.

Prior to the gathering in New York, the Ukrainian Canadian Students' Association declared that it had good reasons not to trust the WCFU leadership which was holding grimly onto its comfortable posts.

Summing up the above, it can be stated with perfect confidence that whatever the nationalist bigwigs may — and do — shout about the "liberation patriotism" and "activization" of Ukrainian youth abroad, they are unable to stop the objective processes among the Ukrainian emigres in general and the younger generation in particular. The inevitable result of these processes is that more and more young people see the light. They know better than to be swayed by nationalist brainwashing, they question and criticize their anti-Soviet upbringing and refuse to comply with the dictatorial demands of adventurous "liberator" politicos. As for those still under the nationalist spell, sooner or later they will wake up, only it may come too late, along with the realization that one's best years have been wasted, ruthlessly stolen.

In fact, the elder emigre generation also reveals changing moods that do not favour the bourgeois nationalists, as well as a gradual political eye-opening.

Bandera's *Shlyakh Peremohy* once confessed, "There is growing inertness among the communities in our diaspora and quite a degree of stagnation in our public and organizational life; our front-line organizations not only are losing members, people also are not fulfilling their public duties. All this weakens our activity and perseverance..., our masses do not see any quick solution to our problem, hence their disappointment and inertia."

Another nationalist publication explained these phenomena as follows: "And so, in response to the question of why the spiritual void in emigre life, one may state quite reasonably: on the one hand, it is the absolute passivity of that sector of our community not effected by nationalism, and, on the other hand, it is the narrow-mindedness in terms of world outlook and the one-sided, reactionary and anachronistic activity of the Establishment, the so-called Liberation Front."

The upper echelons of Ukrainian clerical reaction, whose members can be found among the WCFU top figures, work closely with the politicos from the "liberation" camp. This is especially true of the Uniate clergy, headed by the Nazi collaborator Joseph Slipij. Meanwhile, both the believers and clergy are being gradually antagonized by the adventurist wheelings and dealings of the nationalist elite. The church magazine *Yevanhelska Pravda* wrote: "We are required to sacrifice our life and our blood for some dubious experiments. Someone else is supposed to think for us, to plan and decide everything. The only thing we simple mortals must do is to give our leaders our last dollar, to trust them with our soul and our body, and they will know how to dispose of both."

So what is the answer to the question which makes up the title of this chapter? It is readily apparent that the anti-Soviet subversive center under the pretentious

name of the World Congress of Free Ukrainians, sustained by Western clandestine agencies, was and remains a still-born reactionary child. It simply cannot represent anybody or anything, besides itself. WCFU's interests and goals run counter to the interests of the Ukrainian nation, to those of the Ukrainian emigres, and to the people of their countries of residence.

APROPOS OF CERTAIN CONCLUSIONS

The history of the creation and the subsequent ill-famed activity of the anti-Soviet subversive center known as the World Congress of Free Ukrainians is the history of shameful service for the benefit of the most reactionary forces of the capitalist world. It is a history of the persistent struggle waged by the Ukrainian nationalists against the Ukrainian people and their state — the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic. It is a story of the nationalists' efforts against peace, democracy and progress.

The Third WCFU gathering marked the end of an 11-year period of the "most centralized of the centralized" reactionary Ukrainian emigre formations. The preceding chapters of this booklet contain enough information which, to a certain extent, elucidates the harmful effects of WCFU's "accomplishments" on all the emigration and the Ukrainian people as a whole. However, we would like to present several more quotations showing that this adventurist political conglomeration is considered totally bankrupt in the eyes of the "diaspora." It might also be added that the people to whom we intended — and do intend — to refer can by no means be classified as adhering to either a "realistic" or "progressive" stand.

Most of the facts and evidence collected in this book-

let were deliberately taken from the nationalist press — lest anyone be wont to say that everything written here is falsehood or ungrounded defamation material. Each involuntary or intentional exposure of the role of nationalist propaganda is therefore additional evidence that WCFU has from the very beginning and up to the present been an organization acting against Ukrainian emigre interests, that it discredits, in the eyes of the world, the good name of those countries that provided a haven to characters who now head Western subversive centers.

Despite the fact that WCFU was first proclaimed as a public organization, it has virtually become another center of anti-Soviet political intrigue. That is why the voices that demand making it "non-political," or at least to give priority to cultural and educational work immensely irritate the Congress leaders. *Homin Ukrainy*, for instance, in the article "Before the Third WCFU Congress," maliciously criticized those who oppose the adventurist political intrigues of the "liberation" camp. The newspaper called even these demands alone a great danger to the so-called "Ukrainian cause."

Wide circles of Ukrainians abroad are becoming increasingly convinced of the uselessness and harm for the emigration of the political intrigues of various "parties," associations, societies, centers and groups which for dozens of years have been sponging on the natural patriotic sentiments of the emigration, and swindling dollars out of them for some invented, incomprehensible "liberation struggle." This applies totally to the WCFU as well.

The newspaper *Ukrainska Dumka* (Ukrainian Thought), published in London, carried a sharply critical article by Ya. Deremenda about the daily activity in WCFU. He wrote that the two previous Congresses of this conglomeration, all the current sessions of its

leadership, all plans and their implementation, were invariably criticized for their political trend, for squandering money collected from emigres. As was pointed out in the above article, "only crumbs out of the 100,000 budget were earmarked for the needs of Ukrainian schools, cultural activities and other immediate sectors of Ukrainian life to which WCFU should have given priority attention...." However, wrote Deremenda, the WCFU leadership openly ignores critical remarks and demands, busies itself with intrigues, and acts counter to the interests of Ukrainian communities abroad.

The so-called "realistic" newspaper, *Ukrainske Zhittya*, added: "...apart from yelling at Moscow, it (WCFU — E. K.) is doing nothing"; "this is a dead institution"; "WCFU has existed since 1967, but has done literally nothing. No one knows what it was formed for."

Ya. Haivas, one of the Melnykite leaders, wrote in *Svoboda* that the WCFU does not meet the requirements of Ukrainian communities abroad, could not win influence and popularity among the emigres; and there is no hope for a better future, since everyone sees that its existence cannot be of any use for them.

The criticism and accusations of adventurism and fraudulent practices against political swindlers from WCFU is certainly not to the liking of Messrs Bazarko, Plawiuk, Bilinsky, Hermaniuk, Mstyslav and Co. That is why the nationalist press attempts to squash this criticism, or at least neutralize it with demagogic phrases about WCFU's "patriotic" and "liberation" activities and about their striving to improve this organization.

On the other hand, chieftains of Ukrainian reaction abroad try to deprive the rank and filers of any voice (even formal as it was before) in deciding WCFU's affairs.

According to the press, some people suggested that

the composition of leading bodies of this organization be determined by a narrow circle of those who make its policy; as to the "Congress delegates" they should be left only the "right" to raise hands in endorsing a slate.

The initiators of this innovation consider that it would radically settle all the urgent questions of the WCFU's activities and would secure a quiet life for its leaders.

The bourgeois nationalist "liberators" from the WCFU entertain in their activities neither wishes of good for the emigration, and have only ill will toward the Ukrainian people. They have revealed themselves before the emigration as political adventurists and habitual criminal intriguers and before the Ukrainian people as inveterate enemies. They scorn rank-and-file emigres, the "grey peasants." They hate the Ukraine and try to do harm wherever and with whatever means they can. Their countries of residence have not become new homelands for them, because the nationalists do not link their destiny with the working people of their countries, but only with reactionary circles. It is only these reactionary circles which leaders of WCFU and other nationalist groupings and centers are willing to loyally serve. For they well understand that, if deprived of covert and overt handouts from various anti-Soviet subversive "funds," they will lose their last hope for their further miserable existence.

The very fact that among the WCFU's tasks priority is given to the "liberation policy" aimed against the Ukrainian people and their state — the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic — accounts for the unpopularity of the Congress among the majority of Ukrainians abroad and complete bankruptcy of the political slogans advanced by "leaders" of this conglomerate of subversive groups.

The confusion prevailing in the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist camp does not at all suit the imperialist masters of the WCFU, UCCA, UCC and many other anti-Soviet centers. Those who actually direct the subversive activities of their nationalist lackeys need to unite them into one anti-Soviet front so that their cringing services pay off as much as possible. It is with this aim in mind that the two previous Congresses of "free" imperialist puppets were held, and for this purpose that the Third WCFU Congress was planned.

Many facts show the lies behind the misanthropic politicking of all these groups. This is the true face of Ukrainian bourgeois nationalism. The most cherished dream of the current chiefs of the Bandera and Melnyk factions, of the so-called Ukrainian National Rada (Council), WCFU and many other "independent institutions" is to live to see another world war, this time a nuclear war. They look forward to the time when, in the wake of future intervention, they will be once again able to set foot in the Ukraine, to again butcher, hang and rob, as they establish their "order." They hate not only the Ukraine. They are enemies of the entire human race.

Readers, however, should not conclude from this booklet that this is the entire community or even most of the Ukrainian emigres or Ukrainians born overseas. It is a fact that the bourgeois nationalist organizations involve a tiny handful of Ukrainians abroad, although this by no means lessens the damage the activity of nationalist groups such as WCFU causes. In the nationalist milieu itself, there are quite a few individuals who have long grown sick and tired of the politicking of their leaders, the general atmosphere of falsehood and thievery in the nationalist camp, the blackmailing and bullying of dissenters, the endless contributions to all kinds of funds, financial campaigns and subscrip-

tions, with all traces of the money instantly lost in the bottomless pockets of bigger and smaller "leaders." It is only by force of habit, by inertia, or out of cultivated fear, that these people remain members of nationalist groups. For them, as for most Ukrainians in the West, the adventurist nature of centers like WCFU has long ceased to be any mystery, just as they are aware that these organizations are completely dependent on reactionary circles sowing the seeds of enmity among nations, and hindering detente and the process of consolidating peace.

More and more emigres who have seen Soviet realities themselves today realize the great abyss that lies between the truth they saw and slanderous nationalist propaganda.

Every year thousands of Ukrainians living abroad visit Soviet Ukraine in tourist groups or on personal invitations. They see that the Ukrainian people chose the only correct road of building a communist society along with the other fraternal Soviet nations, as a member of a multinational state — the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Ukrainians abroad whose attitude toward Soviet reality is unbiased have long known that the Ukrainian people, like all the other peoples of the USSR, enjoy genuine freedom and democracy, as they fulfil the grand plans of peaceful construction, developing their culture and raising their living standards. They despise and disdain the futile attempts of all those self-styled "sympathizers" and "defenders" of the interests of the Ukrainian people abroad.

As for WCFU or any similar nationalist subversive center sustained by international anticommunism, there have been many of them which have attempted to undermine people's rule over the last six and a half decades. So where are they now? Ukrainian reaction

abroad, no matter what strident "congresses" it organizes, or under what "democratic" or "patriotic" slogans it operates, has been and is still a handful of turncoats and sellouts in the employ of special services and Western ideological subversive centers. Only people with a morbid imagination, hopelessly remote from reality, can believe that a pack of political opportunists, grouped around WCFU, who have no native land, honor or conscience, have the "right" to speak and make decisions on behalf of all the Ukrainians living abroad, telling them how to live in their countries of residence and what relations to have with the land of their parents.

Even though the Ukrainian bourgeois nationalist gathering at the Americana Hotel was held under the pretentious façade of "World Congress," it held up to public view nothing but a small group of reactionary political orphans. It represented nobody and had — just as it will always have — nothing to do with the great majority of Ukrainians living abroad. WCFU-III was merely another act of anti-Soviet ideological subversion, marking a new round in the vicious internal backbiting of its participants.

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КОНГРЕСС НЕВОЛЬНИКОВ

Памфлеты

Перевод с украинского
М. П. Ищука

Киев, издательство
художественной литературы
«Днипро», 1982

(На английском языке)

Редактор *С. П. Сингаївський*
Художник *І. М. Гаврилюк*
Художній редактор *О. М. Аніжін*
Технічний редактор *Б. С. Грінберг*
Коректор *А. К. Вінярська*

ІБ № 1657.

Здано до складання 14.12.81.
Підписано до друку 16.02.82.
БФ 46234.
Формат 70×90¹/₃₂.
Папір друкарський № 1.
Гарнітура звичайна нова.
Друк високий.
Ум. друк. арк. 4,095.
Ум. фарб.-відб. 4,241.
Обл.-вид. арк. 4,984.
Тираж 4000.
Зам. 1—3158.
Ціна 35 к.

Видавництво
художньої літератури
«Дніпро».
252601, Київ-МСП,
вул. Володимирська, 42.

Головне підприємство
республіканського
виробничого об'єднання
«Поліграфкнига».
252057, Київ, вул. Довженка, 3.

Котлярчук Е. О.

К73 Конгрес невільних: Памфлети / З укр. перекл. М. Іщук.— К. : Дніпро, 1982.— 108 с.

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К $\frac{70303-229}{M205(04)-82}$ 229.82. 4702590200 У2

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